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OF THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

CALLLED SESSION, January, 1861.

Printed by Order of the Legislature.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STATE OF ILLINOIS

IN SENATE

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1881

CHICAGO

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JOURNAL.

At a Special Session of the Legislature of the State of Mississippi begun and held in pursuance of the Constitution and the Governor's Proclamation, at the State House in the city of Jackson, in the county of Hinds, State of Mississippi, on Tuesday the 15th day of January, A. D. 1861, and the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi, the forty third.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1861.

Be it remembered, That on this day, at the place above mentioned, being the time and place designated for the assemblage of the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, the members of the House of Representatives convened in the Representatives Hall at 1 o'clock, P. M.

The House was called to order by Mr. Speaker Campbell.

Upon a call of the roll the following members answered to their names:

Mr. Speaker Campbell, Messrs. Augustus, Barden, Bishop, Backstrom, Coffey, Claiborne, Denny, Evans, Ellis of Copiah, Graham, Gilstrap, Gasque, Henley, Hooker of Lawrence, Hooker of Hinds, Hall of Lauderdale, Holmes, Jones of Sunflower, Keith, Knox, Love, Matthews, Tisdale, Tolson, Wheeler, Winburn, Weathersby and West—29.

No quorum appearing,

On motion of Mr. Matthews,

The House adjourned until to-morrow at 3 o'clock, P. M.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1861

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

Wm. C. Bromley member elect from the county of Itawamba to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of John Walker, appeared, was sworn in and took his seat.

Upon a call of the roll, and no quorum appearing,

On motion of Mr. Dunlap, a call of the House was ordered.

A quorum appearing,

On motion of Mr. Rogers, the further call of the House was suspended.

The following message was received from the Senate through their Secretary :

MR. SPEAKER—

I am instructed to inform the House of Representatives that the Senate has met and organized by the election of Henry T. Ellett of Claiborne, President *pro tem*, and is now ready to proceed to business.

The Journal of yesterday was read and

On motion of Mr. Clark,

The Preamble was amended by striking out so much as refers to the United States of America.

On motion of Mr. Hooker,

Resolved, That a committee of five on the part of the House and——on the part of the Senate be appointed to wait upon the Governor and inform him that the two Houses had organized and are ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

The Chair appointed as said committee, Messrs. Hooker, Smedes, Bell, Withers and Jones of Scott.

On motion of Mr. Dunlap,

The clerk was requested to inform the Senate that the House had organized and is ready to proceed to business.

On motion of Mr. Jones of Sunflower,

Resolved, That the occupation of this Hall will be yielded by the House of Representatives to the State Convention from and after the hour of 2 o'clock, P. M. on each day while both bodies are in session.

The following message was received from the Senate :

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has concurred in the joint resolution of the House of Representatives raising a joint committee to wait on his Excellency the Governor, &c., and the President has appointed on the part of the Senate, Messrs. Neill, Catchings and Buck as said committee.

Mr. Hooker from the joint select committee appointed to wait upon the Governor, made the following report :

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MR. SPEAKER—

The committee appointed to wait upon the Governor beg leave to report that they have discharged the duty assigned them and that the Governor will communicate at once in writing to both Houses of the Legislature.

On his motion the report was received and agreed to.

The following message was received from the Governor through his Private Secretary Mr. Campbell :

MR. SPEAKER—

I am requested by the Governor to deliver to the House of Representatives a message.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Jackson, Miss., Jan. 15th, 1861. }

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives :

Regarding it certain that the Convention which is now in session, would dissolve the connection between the State of Mississippi and the United States, and make many and important changes in the organic law of the State, thus rendering much ordinary legislation necessary to harmonise the statute law with the amended Constitution, and to provide for the wants of the State in the new relation she may assume, I have convened the Legislature in extraordinary session. You meet under perplexing and novel circumstances, such as never surrounded any former session of the Legislature of this State. Numerous, grave, and new questions growing out of the present relations of Mississippi with the surrounding States, must be met and solved at your present session.

Since your adjournment, events of the gravest moment have followed each other with unprecedented rapidity.

The hopes of the most sanguine friends of the Southern cause seem about to be realized in the formation of a Southern Confederacy, embracing a very large majority, if not all the slave-holding States. South Carolina in an ordinance passed on the 20th day of December, 1860, has seceded from the Federal Union. The Convention of the people of Mississippi, called at your late session, passed an Ordinance of Secession on the ninth day of January, A. D. 1861, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, marked A. Florida followed with her Ordinance of Secession on the 10th. Alabama took her place with the seceding States on the eleventh day of the present month.

The States of South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana have taken possession of the Forts and Arsenal within their limits, and Florida is now attempting to take possession of such of the forts as she deems necessary for her safety. Alabama has sent to her aid a considerable force and

seven companies of volunteers, of this State, have been sent from the counties of Chickasaw, Lowndes, Noxubee, and Clark, to aid Florida and Alabama in taking possession of the Forts and Navy Yard at Pensacola.

The result of the expedition is not yet known to me.

Major Mims was sent by me to meet the Mississippi Volunteers at Enterprise, with instructions to provide them all necessary camp equipage and provisions, that the sons of Mississippi might not be required to suffer more privations and hardships than are necessarily incident to the life of a soldier.

Being advised by the Governor of Louisiana that he had reason to believe that an expedition would be sent down the Mississippi river to re-inforce the Garrisons of the Forts and Arsenals of that State, I sent Capt. Kerr with sixteen of the Jackson Artillery Company, and ordered Capt. H. H. Miller to call out the Volunteer Companies of Vicksburg, and take such position as would enable him to prevent any hostile expedition from the Northern States descending the river. Learning that the Forts and Arsenals were fully garrisoned by Louisiana, I have directed Capt. H. H. Miller to withdraw his forces from the position they had taken. As soon as I was informed that the Governor of Louisiana had taken the Arsenal at Baton Rouge, I sent Col. C. G. Armstead with a letter to Governor Moore, requesting him to furnish Mississippi with ten thousand stand of arms, on such terms as he might deem just. Col. Armstead informs me that his Excellency has responded to my request by ordering eight thousand Muskets (8,000), one thousand Rifles, and six twenty-four pound guns, with carriages, and a considerable amount of ammunition to be delivered to him, which will be shipped to Mississippi as soon as possible.

This act of friendship and confidence from our sister State, I hope will be fully appreciated and duly acknowledged by the Legislature and people of Mississippi.

Finding the State pressed by emergencies which were neither foreseen nor provided for, I have done only what I deemed demanded by the interest, safety, and honor of the people of Mississippi; trusting that a magnanimous constituency would judge leniently the acts of an Executive officer placed in so novel and trying positions.

From the Treasurer's Report, a copy of which is herewith transmitted to the Legislature, it will be seen that I have drawn from the Treasury on account of the appropriation, for the purchase of arms, ammunition, &c., thirty-nine thousand, three hundred eleven dollars and twenty one cents, (\$39,311.21.) Contracts for a considerable amount of arms, and munitions of war have been made, which have not as yet been complied with; the arms not having been received or paid for. Other contracts have probably been made by agents appointed by me for that pur-

pose. After paying all contracts now made, or authorized to be made, there will be a considerable balance of the appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000), made at the last regular session of the Legislature. Patriotic citizens in various portions of the State, have extended to me pecuniary aid in arming the State. The Hon. Hal. C. Chambers, of Coahoma, gave me an order for one hundred bales of cotton. Col. Miles McGehee, and Hon. Chas. Clark, gave me a draft for the proceeds of the sale of one hundred bales each. Hon. A. G. Brown sent me a bill on New York for five hundred dollars (\$500). Major John M. Graves gave me his draft for two hundred (\$200) and Mr. Burwell Scott his draft for one thousand dollars (\$1,000). Col. R. S. Rayburn, of Tallahatchie county has presented to the State one hundred kegs of powder

For these sums, when realized, I propose to return Auditor's warrants, drawn as part of the hundred and fifty thousand appropriation for the purchase of arms, notwithstanding many of the gentlemen regarded their offering as a donation, and some still so regard it. Col. Jeff. Davis and Hon. Jacob Thompson have guaranteed the payment, in May or June, of twenty-four thousand dollars (\$24,000), for a purchase of arms.

The Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company have tendered me the free use of their Road for the transportation of troops and munitions of war whenever the State may require it, placing at the disposal of the Governor of the State extra trains, when required, free of all charge. The Mississippi Central Railroad Company, through their President, W. Goodman, has tendered the services of all men now employed on that Road in case of invasion, and the use of the Road for transportation on favorable terms, to be arranged hereafter

Hon. Madison McAfee has become responsible for a considerable amount for the purchase of ammunition—all of which I shall be able to meet out of the appropriation already made. Many other patriotic citizens have tendered me similar aid, which has not yet been accepted. It is with pride and pleasure that I have further to inform the Legislature, that all citizens on whom I have called to aid me in the purchase of arms and ammunition, have gone wherever I requested, and performed any service I required, without asking or accepting fee, or reward for their services. I renew my recommendation made to you at your last session: That all volunteer companies be placed on the same footing in regard to pecuniary aid from the State, and that a sufficient sum be appropriated to each company to defray all necessary expenses.

In compliance with a resolution passed at the last session of the Legislature, I have appointed—

The Hon. Henry Dickinson, Commissioner to the State of Delaware.

The Hon. A. H. Handy, Commissioner, to the State of Maryland.

The Hon. Walker Brooke and the Hon. Fulton Anderson, Commissioners to the State of Virginia ; The Hon. Jacob Thompson, Commissioner to the State of North Carolina ; The Hon. G. S. Gaines, Commissioner to the State of Florida ; The Hon. W. L. Harris and the Hon. Thos. W. White, Commissioners to the State of Georgia ; The Hon. W. S. Featherston, Commissioner to the State of Kentucky ; The Hon. Thos. J. Wharton, Commissioner to the State of Tennessee ; The Hon. Joseph W. Matthews, Commissioner to the State of Alabama ; The Hon. Daniel R. Russell, Commissioner to the State of Missouri ; The Hon. Geo. R. Fall, Commissioner to the State of Arkansas ; The Hon. Wirt Adams, Commissioner to the State of Louisiana ; and Capt. H. H. Miller, Commissioner to the State of Texas ; and the Hon. C. E. Hooker, Commissioner to the State of South Carolina.

The reports of such of the above named Commissioners as have returned and reported to me are herewith transmitted.

[See Appendix.]

Col. Armistead, Burt, and Hon. E. W. Pettus, Commissioners from the State of South Carolina and Alabama, have visited the State of Mississippi, seeking her co-operation in the formation of a Southern Confederacy.

From the facts stated in the preceding part of this Message, the Legislature will perceive that a state of hostilities already exists between the seceding States and the Government at Washington, which may be soon followed by open war. It is yet possible that this may be averted. Justice and prudence on the part of the Southern people, in my opinion, may possibly avert it ; and if not, will certainly mitigate its evils. But whether peace or war be the destiny of the State, a due observance of law and obedience to the constituted authorities are the only guarantees of a people for success, safety, or civilization.

We have embarked upon a stormy sea, and much of the peril which attends our voyage is to be apprehended from the thoughtlessness and passions of our own crew. Law and order must prevail, or there is no safety for the ship. For these reasons I recommend that more stringent laws be passed for the punishment of crime of exciting insurrection, that individuals, or associations of individuals may not be required to incur the responsibility of inflicting punishment without the forms of law, to save their homes from the incendiary, and that all punishments may be inflicted by Courts, regularly constituted by law.

I further recommend that the most prompt and efficient measures be adopted to make known to the people of the Northwestern States, that peaceful commerce on the Mississippi river will be neither interrupted or annoyed by the authorities or people of Mississippi. This in my opinion will materially aid in preserving

peace between the Northwestern and the Southern States, if it can be preserved.

But if this may not be, if justice, prudence and moderation on our part cannot save us from war and invasion, there will then be nothing left for Mississippi but to lay her lance in rest and cry God defend the Right.

JOHN J. PETTUS.

On motion of Mr. Chambers the message was laid on the table. Mr. Chambers moved that 500 copies be printed.

Mr. Clark moved to print 5,000 copies.

Pending the motions to print,

The message was referred to the committee on Printing.

Mr. Matthews offered the following resolution,

Resolved, That a committee of five on the part of the House and——on the part of the Senate be appointed to wait on the Hon. Armstead Burt, Commissioner from the State of South Carolina, and Hon. E. W. Pettus, Commissioner from the State of Alabama, and invite them to seats in the House and Senate and also to extend them the hospitality of the State during their stay therein.

On his motion, the rule was suspended and the resolution adopted.

The Chair appointed as the Committee on part of the House, Messrs. Matthews, Jones of Sunflower, Bishop, Withers and Lake.

On motion of Mr. Clark,

Resolved, That the members of the Convention be and they are hereby invited to take seats within the bar of the House during the session thereof, and that the clerk of this House communicate this resolution to the Convention.

The following message was received from the Senate.

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has concurred in joint resolution of the House of Representatives in relation to the Commissioners of South Carolina and Alabama, and the President has appointed on the joint committee to wait on them, on the part of the Senate, Messrs. Thomson, Starke and Davis.

Mr. Chambers offered the following resolution.

Resolved, The Senate concurring, that the present extraordinary session of the Legislature having been convened by the Governor to deliberate upon such measures of legislation as may be demanded by the present position of the State of Mississippi to the government of the United States, to secure the safety and promote the interests of the people of the State, it will be considered by the Legislature as its duty at its present session to enact all requisite laws within the scope of its powers under the Constitution which authorized the election and defined the powers of

members of this body and it is hoped and desired that the Convention of the people of the State now in session at the Capitol and convened under an act of the Legislature will suspend or remove such provisions of the constitution as might restrain the Legislature from the enactment of laws necessary and proper under the altered relations of the State of Mississippi to the Government of the United States.

Resolved, That the clerk of the House is hereby instructed to transmit to the President of the Convention a certified copy of this resolution.

On motion of Mr. Chambers,

The rule was suspended and the resolutions adopted.

On motion of Mr. Scales,

The House adjourned until 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1861.

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

Upon a call of the roll and no quorum appearing,

On motion of Mr. Rogers,

A call of the House was ordered.

A quorum appearing,

On motion of Mr. Bell,

The further call of the House was suspended.

The journal of yesterday was read and approved.

The Speaker announced that the Door-Keeper of the House was temporarily absent.

On motion of Mr. Hicks,

The Speaker was authorized to make a temporary appointment.

The Speaker appointed Mr. Samuel Pool.

On motion of Mr. Augustus,

The Door-Keeper was instructed to furnish each member of this House with a copy of the Revised Code.

Mr. Knox made the following report.

MR. SPEAKER—

The joint standing committee on printing to whom was referred the motion to print certain extra copies of the Governor's message, have had the same under consideration and have instructed me to report the following joint resolution, and to recommend its adoption, to-wit.

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That two thousand copies of the message of the Governor without the

accompanying documents be printed for the use of the two houses of the Legislature.

On motion of Mr. Knox,

The report was received and agreed to.

On his further motion, the rule was suspended and the resolution adopted.

Mr. Bishop offered the following resolution.

Resolved, The Senate concurring, that this Legislature adjourn on Friday the 18th inst., to meet again on the third Monday in February, 1861:

On his motion the rule requiring joint resolutions to lie one day on the table was dispensed with.

On motion of Mr. Claiborne,

The resolution was laid on the table.

Mr. Matthews made the following report.

MR. SPEAKER—

The committee on the part of the House, appointed under a joint resolution to wait on Hon. Armstead Burt, Commissioner from the State of South Carolina and invite him to a seat in the House and Senate, and to become the guest of the State, report they have performed the duty assigned them, and that the Hon. Commissioner accepts the courtesy tendered as an expression of the fraternal regard and sympathy of the people of Mississippi for the people of South Carolina.

On motion of Mr. Matthews,

The report was received and agreed to.

Mr. Graham gave notice that he would on to-morrow or some future day introduce a bill to provide for the sale of the public lands within this State.

Mr. Chambers gave notice that he would on to-morrow or some future day introduce a bill to provide a stay on judgements and executions and for other purposes.

Mr. Hooker presented the petition of Amos R. Johnston and other citizens of the county of Hinds praying the passage of a law for the relief of Octavus McGowan a minor.

Mr. Hooker moved that the petition be referred to a select committee of five.

Mr. Smedes moved its reference to the standing committee on Propositions and Grievances.

Mr. Hooker moved to lay the motion on the table,

Which was lost.

The question was then taken on the motion to refer the petition to the committee on Propositions and Grievances, and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Scales asked and obtained leave of the House to have spread upon the Journal the following resolution offered by him on yesterday as a substitute to the resolution offered by Mr.

Chambers, the same having been omitted in the proceedings of yesterday, to-wit :

Resolved, That it is the sense and desire of this House that the Convention should at as early a period as possible indicate to the Legislature what course they intend to pursue in reference to that legislation for which this body was convened.

The following message was received from the Senate.

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has adopted the following joint resolution in which the concurrence of the House is desired :

Resolved, The House of Representatives concurring, that the joint standing rules of the two Houses be so amended as to change the name of the joint standing committee on State and Federal Relations to that of a committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Smedes moved to call from the table the joint resolution in relation to the adjournment of the Legislature.

Which was decided in the negative by yeas and nays called for by Messrs. Jones of Sunflower, Smedes and Clark.

YEAS.—Messrs. Adams, Bishop, Bell, Byrne, Clark, Coffey, Ellis of Copiah, Hooker of Lawrence, Hicks, Holmes, Jones of Scott, Jones of Sunflower, Long, Lake, Matthews, McDonald, Smedes, West and Walworth—19.

NAYS.—Mr. Speaker, Messrs. Augustus, Barden, Bromley, Backstrom, Barksdale, Chambers, Claiborne, Duncan, Denning, Dantzler, Dunlap, Evans, Gage, Graham, Gilstrap, Gasque, Hamilton, Hooker of Hinds, Hall of Lauderdale, Hall of Leake, Knox, Love, McRae, Rogers, Reid, Scales, Smylie, Smith of Jones, Tisdale, Van Eaton, Wilson, Wheeler, Winburn, Withers, Weathersby, and Walker—37.

On motion of Mr. Matthews,

The House concurred in the joint resolution of the Senate to amend the joint standing rules of the two Houses so as to change the name of the joint standing committee on State and Federal Relations to that of a committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Dantzler by leave introduced a bill to be entitled an act to change the time of holding the Probate Court of Jasper county.

Which was read the first time.

On his motion, the rule was suspended, the bill read the second and third times forthwith and passed with title as stated.

Mr. Hicks by leave introduced a bill to be entitled an act to change the name of the Fayette Female Academy of Jefferson county.

Which was read the first time.

On his motion the rule was suspended, the bill read the second and third times forthwith and passed with title as stated.

—Mr. Hooker of Lawrence by leave, introduced a bill to be

entitled an act to extend the time of holding the Circuit Court in Lawrence county.

Which was read the first time,

On his motion the rule was suspended, the bill read the second and third time forthwith and passed with title as stated.

Mr. Graham gave notice that he would on to-morrow or some early day of the session introduce

A Bill to prevent suits for debts against southern soldiers while in actual service,

A Bill to punish persons uttering abolition sentiments,

A Bill to punish hawking and peddling,

A Bill to exclude free negroes from the State.

A Bill to exclude foreigners from the elective franchise.

Mr. Van Eaton announced to the House the death of the Hon. C. E. Frith late a member of this House, from the county of Amite, and submitted the following preamble and resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

The House of Representatives having been officially informed of the death of Hon. C. E. Frith late member thereof from the county of Amite, and recognizing in this afflictive disposition of an all wise Providence the loss to this House of a useful, attentive and courteous member, to the State of a worthy and promising son, and to the social circle of a generous and agreeable companion; therefore, be it

Resolved, That with a feeling of deep regret and sorrow, for the loss of our late estimable, and worthy brother, and as a token of respect for his memory, this House do now adjourn.

Mr. Smedes offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this House adjourn until Saturday morning next at 9 o'clock and that the Convention have the use of this Hall for the entire day of Friday and that the clerk notify the President of the Convention thereof

Which was lost.

On motion of Mr Van Eaton,

The House adjourned until 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1861.

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

The Journal of yesterday was read and approved.

Mr. Chambers by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act declaring parts of Hobsons and Cassedys Bayous navigable streams.

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed with title as stated.

Mr. Love by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of Kemper county,

Which was read the first time.

Mr. Love moved a suspension of the rule,

Which was lost.

Mr. Henly by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled

An act to amend the several acts incorporating the town of Boloxi in Harrison county and for other purposes.

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed with title as stated.

Mr. Hill by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to authorize L. W. Galbraith to appoint a deputy county Treasurer for the county of Chickasaw,

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed with title as stated.

Mr. Dantzler by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled

An act to provide food for the poor and destitute citizens of Jasper county.

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed with title as stated.

Mr. Walworth by leave introduced a bill,

To be entitled an act to amend an act entitled an act to amend and reduce into one the act incorporating the city of Natchez and the several acts amendatory thereto.

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed with title as stated.

Mr. Matthews by leave introduced,

A Bill to be entitled

An act for the relief of Isham P. Trotter,

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed with title as stated.

On motion of Mr. Augustus,

Resolved, That the Judiciary committee be instructed to examine the ordinances that have been passed by the Convention which is now in session and report to the House what immediate legislation (if any) is necessary to be enacted by the Legislature to carry out such ordinances.

Mr. Graham by leave introduced,

A Bill to be entitled,

An act providing for the sale of certain public lands.

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule, and

On motion of Mr. Hooker of Hinds,

Referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Lake by leave introduced joint resolutions acknowledging the receipt of arms and ammunition from the Governor of Louisiana.

On his motion the rule was suspended and the resolutions adopted.

Mr. Tolson by leave introduced,

A Bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of W. G. Grace.

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed with title as stated.

Mr. Hooker of Hinds, by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to dispose of the funds arising from the sale of slaves out of the county jails.

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule, and Referred to the Judiciary Committee.

On motion of Mr. Lake,

Resolved, That so much of the Governor's message as relates to providing punishment for the crime of inciting insurrection be referred to the Judiciary Committee.

On motion of Mr. Matthews,

The resolution in relation to the adjournment of the Legislature was called from the table.

Mr. Matthews offered the following amendment:

Amend by striking out all after the word "on" in the second line and inserting the following words, "Saturday the 19th inst., at 12 o'clock, M. *sine die*."

Mr. Graham moved to lay the resolution and amendment on the table.

Which was lost.

The question was then taken on the adoption of Mr. Matthews' amendment and decided in the negative by yeas and nays called for by Messrs. Clark, Matthews and Hooker of Hinds.

YEAS.—Messrs. Adams, Augustus, Barden, Bell, Coffey, Duncan, Gilstrap, Hicks, Hall of Lauderdale, Holmes, Jones of Sunflower, Knox, Long, Lake, Matthews, McDonald, Pipes, Rogers, Scales, Trotter, Tisdale, Van Eaton, Wilson, Wheeler, Winburn, Withers, West and Walworth—28.—

NAYS.—Mr. Speaker, Messrs. Bugg, Bromley, Bradford, Backstrom, Byrne, Barksdale, Chambers, Claiborne, Denney, Dantzer, Dunlap, Dean, Evans, Ellis of Copiah, Gage, Graham, Gasque, Hamilton, Hill, Henley, Hooker of Hinds, Hooker of Lawrence, Hall of Leake, Jones of Scott, Keith, Lyles, Love, Merinar, Reid, Smylie, Smith of Jones, Tolson and Walker—34.

Mr. Hooker of Hinds, offered the following amendment,

Amend by striking out all after the word "resolved," in the original resolution and inserting "that the Legislature adjourn on

to-morrow the 19th inst., at 12 o'clock M., to meet again on the 2d Monday of Feb., 1861.

Mr. Augustus moved,

To lay the original resolution and amendment on the table,

Which was decided in the negative by yeas and nays, called for by Messrs. Hooker of Hinds, Jones of Sunflower and Walworth:

YEAS—Messrs. Augustus, Bugg, Bromley, Bradford, Backstrom, Claiborne, Denney, Dantzler, Evans, Graham, Gasque, Hill, Henley, Hall of Lauderdale, Hall of Leake, Holmes, Keith, Knox, Lyles, Matthews, Merinar, Scales, Smylie, Smith of Jones, Trotter, Tolson, Van Eaton, Wilson and Walker.—28.

NAYS—Mr. Speaker, Messrs. Adams, Barden, Bell, Byrne, Barksdale, Clark, Chambers, Duncan, Dunlap, Dean, Ellis of Copiah, Gage, Gilstrap, Hamilton, Hooker of Hinds, Hooker of Lawrence, Hicks, Jones of Scott, Jones of Sunflower, Long, Love, Lake, Martin, McDonald, Pipes, Rogers, Reid, Tisdale, Wheeler, Winburn, Withers and Walworth.—34.

The question was then taken on the adoption of Mr. Hooker's amendment and decided in the affirmative.

The question was then taken on the adoption of the resolution as amended and decided in the affirmative by yeas and nays, called for by Messrs. Rogers, Hooker of Hinds and Walworth:

YEAS—Mr. Speaker, Messrs. Adams, Augustus, Barden, Byrne, Barksdale, Coffey, Chambers, Duncan, Dunlap, Dean, Ellis of Copiah, Gage, Gilstrap, Hamilton, Hooker of Hinds, Hooker of Lawrence, Hicks, Hall of Leake, Jones of Scott, Jones of Sunflower, Keith, Long, Love, Lake, McDonald, Pipes, Reid, Tisdale, Wheeler, Winburn, West and Walworth.—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Bugg, Bromley, Bradford, Bell, Claiborne, Denney, Dantzler, Evans, Graham, Gasque, Hill, Hall of Lauderdale, Holmes, Knox, Lyles, Merinar, Rogers, Scales, Smylie, Smith of Jones, Trotter, Tolson, Van Eaton, Wilson, Withers and Walker.—26.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has concurred in the joint resolution providing for the printing of 2,000 copies of the Governor's message.

On motion of Mr. Gage,

The House adjourned until 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1861.

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

The Journal of yesterday read and approved.

The Speaker presented the following communication from the State Convention:

Hall of the House of Representatives,

City of Jackson:

REPUBLIC OF MISSISSIPPI, Jan 18th, 1861.

MR. SPEAKER—

I am instructed to lay before your honorable body the accompanying resolution, passed by the Convention of the people of the State of Mississippi, Jan. 18th, 1861.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President of this Convention to confer with a general committee of like number of the Senate and House of Representatives, as to the course which the two bodies propose to adopt in regard to the various subjects of legislation growing out of the present position of the State; and also as to the propriety of the adjournment of one of the said bodies to a future day, and that the said two Houses of the Legislature be invited to concur in the proposed conference between the said two Houses and this Convention.

I have the honor, &c.,

F. A. POPE;

Secretary of the Convention.

Mr. Matthews offered the following joint resolution,

Resolved, the Senate concurring, That a Committee of Conference of five on the part of the House and ——— on the part of the Senate be appointed to confer with a committee appointed by the State Convention to ascertain whether there is any public interest to be promoted by the simultaneous session of the State Convention and the Legislature, and whether there will be an occasion for the re-assembling of the Legislature after the adjournment of the Convention and to report as soon as practical.

On his motion, the rule was suspended and the resolution adopted.

The Chair appointed as the committee on the part of the House,

Messrs. Matthews, Chambers, Hooker of Hinds, Suratt and Backstrom.

Mr. Matthews presented the petition of T. H. Witleford and others,

Which was referred to the committee on Ways and Means.

Mr. Chambers, according to notice, introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to authorize a stay on execution for a limited time,
Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule,
And referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Chambers by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to suspend action for the recovery of debt for a limited period,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule,

And referred to the Judiciary Committee.

The House proceeded to consider the orders of the day.

The House bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of Kemper county,

Was read the second time and,

On motion of Mr. Matthews,

Referred to the Committee on Internal Improvement.

Mr. Gage by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to amend the Constitution of the State of Mississippi in relation to the election and jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule and

On motion of Mr. Lake,

Referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Graham by leave introduced.

A bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of J. D. Terrell, a minor of Covington county,

Which was read twice by the title under a suspension of the rule and

Referred to the committee on Propositions and Grievances.

Mr. Adams offered the following resolution,

Which was adopted.

Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs, be instructed to enquire into the expediency of establishing a State Armory for the manufacture of ordnance, small arms, and fixed ammunition, and that they be requested to report by bill or otherwise at the earliest day practicable.

Mr. Dantzler by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to incorporate the Garlandville Seminary,

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

The title standing as stated.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed the following House bill,

An act to provide food for the poor and destitute citizens of Jasper county;

An act to extend the time of holding the Circuit court of Lawrence county;

An act to change the name of the Fayette Female Academy, of Jefferson county;

An act to declare parts of Hopson's and Cassidy's bayous navigable streams;

An act for the relief of W. G. Grace;

An act for the relief of Isham P. Trotter;

An act to change the time of holding the Probate court of Jasper county;

An act to amend an act entitled "an act to amend and reduce into one the act incorporating the city of Natchez, and the several acts amendatory thereto;

The Senate has also passed the House bill entitled,

An act to authorize L. W. Galbraith to appoint a deputy county treasurer for the county of Chickasaw,

And has adopted an amendment thereto in which the concurrence of the House is desired.

The Senate has also adopted a joint resolution in relation to waste and unappropriated lands, in which the concurrence of the House is asked.

On motion of Mr. Hill,

The House concurred in the Senate amendment to the House bill entitled,

An act to authorize L. W. Galbraith to appoint a Deputy County Treasurer for the county of Chickasaw.

On motion of Mr. Van Eaton,

The House concurred in the joint resolution of the Senate in relation to waste and unappropriated lands.

On his further motion,

The blank in said resolution was filled with the number 5.

The Chair appointed as the committee on the part of the House,

Messrs. Wilson, Van Eaton, Dantzler, Tolson and Bradford.

Mr. Dantzler by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to regulate the fees of certain officers of Jasper county,

Which was read three times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

The title remaining as stated.

Mr. Suratt by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to amend an act entitled an act further to regulate the Militia and Volunteer system, approved Feb. 10, 1860,

Which was read three times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

The title standing as stated.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed,

A bill to be entitled an act to amend,

An act to provide for the payment of the indebtedness of certain counties of the Mississippi Levee District, approved, Feb. 10, 1860.

Leave of absence was granted Messrs. Armistead, Bishop, Boone, Akers, Owen and Reasons.

The following message was received from the Senate,

R. SPEAKER—

The Senate has concurred in the joint resolution of the House appointing a committee of conference with the Convention.

Mr. Graham, pursuant to notice, introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act in relation to free negroes and mulattoes,

Which was read twice under suspension of the rule,

And referred to the committee on Propositions and Grievances.

The following message was received from the Senate.

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed the House bill entitled,

An act to amend the several acts of incorporation of the town of Biloxi, in Harrison county, and for other purposes ;

Also a resolutions acknowledging the receipt of Arms and Ammunition from the Governor of Louisiana.

On motion of Mr. Adams,

The Senate bill to be entitled,

An act entitled an act to amend an act to provide for the payment of the indebtedness of certain counties of the Mississippi River Levee District, approved, Feb. 10th, 1860,

Was called up and read the first time.

On his motion, the rule was suspended, the bill read the second and third times and passed,

Title standing as stated.

The Speaker appointed Messrs. Bromley and Hooker of Lawrence, to fill the vacancies on committee on Propositions and Grievances.

Mr. Terrell made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The committee on Enrolled Bills ask to report the following bills correctly enrolled, and presented this day to the Governor for his approval and signature,

An act for the relief of Isham P. Trotter ;

An act to declare Hopson's and Cassidy's Bayous navigable streams ;

An act to amend an act entitled an act to amend and reduce into one the act incorporating the City of Natchez and the several acts amendatory thereto ;

A bill to be entitled an act to change the name of the Fayette Female Academy of Jefferson county ;

An act for the relief of W. G. Grace, of Lauderdale county ;

An act to provide food for the poor and destitute citizens of Jasper county ;

A bill to be entitled an act to extend the time of holding the Circuit Court in Lawrence county.

An act to change the time of holding the Probate Court of Jasper county.

Mr. Suratt by leave introduced.

A bill to be entitled,

An act to change and modify the revenue laws this State,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule,

And referred to the committee on Ways and Means.

On motion of Mr. Wilson,

The House took a recess until 12 o'clock M.

12 O'CLOCK M.

The recess having expired the House resumed its session.

Mr. Terrel, from the committee on Enrolled Bills, made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The committee on Enrolled Bills ask to report the following bills and resolutions as correctly enrolled, and presented this day to His Excellency the Governor for his approval and signature,

An act to amend the several acts of incorporation of the town of Biloxi, in Harrison county, and for other purposes.

Resolution acknowledging the receipt of arms and ammunition from the Governor of Louisiana.

An act to authorize L. W. Galbraith to appoint a deputy county treasurer for the county of Chickasaw.

Mr. Claiborne by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to provide for the payment of mileage of members of the Military Board,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule and

On motion of Mr. Suratt,

Referred to the committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. Terrel by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to extend the time of holding the Circuit Court of Clark county in certain cases,

Which was read three times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

The title standing as stated.

Mr. Evans by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of G. S. Parker, Sheriff of Clark county;

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule, and

On motion of Mr. Augustus,

Referred to committee on Claims.

On motion of Mr. Rogers,

The House ajourned until Monday morning 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1861.

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

The Journal of Saturday was read and approved.

Mr. Lake presented the petition of sundry citizens of the State of Mississippi protesting against the passage of a stay law,

Which was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Dunlap presented the claim of W. H. & T. C. Loud,

Which was referred to the committee on claims.

Mr. Evans presented the petition of sundry citizens of Clark county praying for an increase of the salary of the Probate Judge of said county,

Which was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Henley offered the following resolution,

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That the people of Mississippi should be encouraged in home manufactory, agriculture and mechanical arts, and the Governor of this State be requested to purchase all ordnance, arms and munitions of war within our own borders: Provided, The same can be done on reasonable terms.

On motion of Mr. Smedes,

The resolution was laid on the table,

Mr. Lake gave notice that he would on to-morrow or some subsequent day, introduce a bill for the establishment of a bank of discount and deposit in the city of Vicksburg.

Mr. Campbell gave notice that on to-morrow or some subsequent day, he would ask leave to introduce,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to change article 65 of chapter 3 of Revised Code.

Mr. Terrel by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of certain citizens in the counties therein named, approved Nov. 30, 1860,

Which was read three times under a suspension of the rule and passed.

The title standing as stated.

Mr. Suratt made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The standing committee on Propositions and Grievances to whom was referred the petition of A. R. Johnston and others, citizens of Hinds county, praying the Legislature to remove the civil disabilities of Octavus McGowan, a minor of said county,

Have had said petition under consideration and have instructed me to report said petition back to the House and recommend that the prayer of said petitioners be not granted,

Which was received.

On motion of Mr. Smedes,

The report was laid on the table.

Mr. Suratt made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The standing committee on Propositions and Grievances to whom was referred,

A bill to be entitled,

An act in relation to free negroes and mulattoes,

Have had the same under consideration and have instructed me to report said bill back to the House with the accompanying amendments, and recommend that the bill as amended by the committee do pass.

Which was received and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Suratt,

The rule was suspended and the bill read the third time.

On motion of Mr. Walworth,

The bill was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Suratt made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The standing committee on Propositions and Grievances to whom was referred the bill entitled,

An act for the relief of J. D. Terrel, a minor of Covington county,

Have had the same under consideration and have instructed me to report the said bill back to the House and recommend that it do not pass.

Mr. Suratt moved that the report be received and agreed to.

A division being called for,

The report was received.

Mr. Terrel offered the following amendment:

Strike out the words "do not pass," and insert "do pass,"

Which was adopted.

The report was then agreed to as amended.

Mr. Terrel moved,

That the rule be suspended to the end that the bill be read a third time and put upon its passage,

Which was lost.

Mr. Smedes moved,

The indefinite postponement of the bill,

Which was decided in the affirmative by yeas and nays, called for by Messrs. Smedes, Culbertson and Barden,

YEAS—Messrs. Augustus, Akers, Barden, Brantley, Bell, Byrne, Beaman, Barksdale, Coffey, Culbertson, Duncan, Downs, Dunlap, Dickens, Evans, Gilstrap, Hamilton, Hicks, Hall of Leake, Hudson, Holmes, Knox, Lyles, Lake, Martin, McAlister, McDonald, McWhorter, Owen, Pipes, Palmer, Pinson, Reasons, Ruffin, Reid, Rutherford, Suratt, Shelton, Smedes, Tisdale, Thomas, Van Eaton and Wilson.—44.

NAYS—Mr. Speaker, Messrs. Adams, Armistead, Bugg, Bradford, Claiborne, Denney, Dantzler, Gage, Graham, Gasque, Hill, Henley, Hooker of Lawrence, Hall of Lauderdale, Johnston, Keith, Love, Murphy, Rogers, Smith of Jones, Terrel, Tolson, Winburn, Withers, Walker and West.—27.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS.

By Mr. Adams,

An act for the relief of Mrs. Ann Mariah Tillman,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule,

And referred to the committee on Claims.

By Mr. Dickens,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to increase the salary of the Probate Judge of Panola county,

Which was read three times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

The title standing as stated.

By Mr. Rutherford,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to repeal an act entitled an act to amend an act to secure the interest on the school fund belonging to the Chickasaw Cession so far as the said act relates to the county of Tippah,

Was read three times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

With title as stated.

By Mr. Withers,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to incorporate the Marshall county Manufacturing Company,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule.

Mr. Matthews offered an amendment by way of additional section.

On motion of Mr. Withers,

The bill and amendment was referred to the committee on Internal Improvement.

By Mr. Barksdale,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to authorize and empower the guardian of John G. Hagan, of Yazoo county, a person *non compos mentis*, to sell his ward's property,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule, and

On motion of Mr. Smedes,

Referred to the committee on Propositions and Grievances.

By Mr. Bromley,

A bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of Calvin A. Marshall, Tax Assessor of Itawamba county,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule,

And referred to the committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. Graham,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to prevent suits against Southern Soldiers,

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule,

And referred to the committee on Propositions and Grievances.

By Mr. Smedes,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to increase the salary of the Probate Judge of Warren county.

Which was read three several times and passed,

With title as stated.

Mr. Smedes offered the following resolution,

Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That the style of the Joint Standing Committee upon Internal Improvements shall be changed to that of Internal Improvement and Manufactories and that unless otherwise ordered all petitions, bills and resolutions relating to manufactories be referred to that committee.

On his motion, the rule was suspended and the resolution adopted.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed bills with the following titles,

An act to annex township 3, range 1 west, to the First District of the Chancery and Circuit Courts of Hinds county.

A bill for the relief of R. R. Williamson, of Marshall county.

On motion of Mr. Withers,

The House proceeded to the consideration of the Senate messages,

The Senate bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of R. R. Williamson, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Marshall county,

Was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

With title as stated.

The Senate bill to be entitled,

An act to annex township 3, range one west, to the first District of the Chancery and Circuit Court of Hinds county,

Was read the first time.

On motion of Mr. Purdom,

The rule was suspended, the bill read the second and third times forthwith and passed,

With title as stated.

On motion of Mr. Terrel,

Resolved, That the committee on the Gulf and Ship Island Railroad be instructed to inquire into the expediency of appropriating ——— acres of the public lands in this State for the use of said road.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed the following bill,

A bill to extend the term of the Circuit Court of Winston county.

Also House bills entitled,

A bill entitled,

An act to regulate the fees of certain officers of Jasper county.

An act to amend an act entitled an act further to regulate the militia and volunteer systems, approved Feb. 10, 1861.

On motion of Mr. Van Eaton,

The Senate bill to be entitled,

An act to extend the term of the Circuit Court in Winston county,

Was called up and read the first time.

On his motion, the rule was suspended, the bill read the second and third times and passed,

With title as stated.

Mr. Pinson offered the following resolution,

Which was adopted,

Resolved, That the committee on Military Affairs be and they are hereby instructed to inquire into the expediency of amending "An act to regulate the Militia and Volunteer system," approved Feb. 10, 1860, so as to levy the one-twentieth part of the State tax provided in said act as part of the commutation fee upon all property in the State and that they report by bill or otherwise.

On motion of Mr. Henley,

The resolution offered by him in relation to the encouragement of home manufactory,

Was called from the table.

On his motion, the rule requiring joint resolutions to lie one day on the table, was dispensed with and,

On his further motion,

The resolution was referred to the committee on Internal Improvements.

Mr. Matthews made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The committee on the part of the House appointed to confer with the committee of the Senate and the committee of the State Convention as to the propriety of a simultaneous session of the two bodies have performed the duty assigned them, and have to report the following resolution adopted by said conference committee,

Resolved, That in view of the fact that the business of the State Convention has not reached that stage of advancement, which sufficiently indicates the duties which will devolve on the Legislature, advise that the Legislature adjourn to a future day.

On motion of Mr. Matthews,

The report was received.

The question was then taken on agreeing to the report and decided in the negative.

Mr. Ruffin by leave introduced,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to amend the charter of the town of Senatoba, in the county of DeSoto,

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

With title as stated.

Mr. Matthews from the committee on the Judiciary to whom was referred,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to authorize the stay on executions for a limited time,

Report the same back to the House without amendment with a recommendation that it do not pass.

Mr. Matthews moved,

That the report be received and agreed to.
 A division being called for,
 The report was received.
 Question on agreeing,
 Pending the question,
 On motion of Mr. Jones of Sunflower,
 The further consideration of the report was postponed for the present.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has adopted the following joint resolution,
WHEREAS, A Convention of the people is now in session, the Legislature deem it expedient to take a recess, as the continuance of both bodies in session at the same time, may complicate legislation, so as to produce confusion and incompatibility in the laws and prove detrimental to the public weal; Therefore,
Resolved, That the Legislature will take a recess from 11 o'clock to-morrow until the first Monday in March, 1861.

The following message was received from the Governor, through his private Secretary, Mr. Campbell,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Governor has approved and signed the following bills which originated in the House of Representatives,

An act to change the time of holding the Probate Court of Jasper county.

An act to change the name of the Fayette Female Academy of Jefferson.

An act for the relief of W. G. Grace, of Lauderdale county.

An act to amend an act entitled an act to amend and reduce into one the act incorporating the city of Natchez and the several acts amendatory thereto.

An act to extend the time of holding the Circuit Court in Lawrence county.

An act to authorize L. W. Galbraith to appoint a Deputy County Treasurer for the county of Chickasaw.

An act to declare parts of Hopson's and Cassidy's Bayou to be navigable streams.

An act to provide food for the poor and destitute citizens of Jasper county.

Resolution acknowledging the receipt of arms and ammunition from the Governor of Louisiana.

An act for the relief of Isham P. Trotter.

An act to amend the several acts of incorporation of the town of Biloxi, in Harrison county, and for other purposes.

On motion of Mr. Jones of Sunflower,

The House took up the Senate message in relation to the recess of the Legislature.

Mr. Henley offered the following amendment,

Amend by striking out all after the word "will" and inserting the words "adjourn *sine die* on Tuesday the 22d inst., at 11 o'clock A. M.

The amendment was adopted by yeas and nays, called for by Messrs. Henley, Rogers and Graham.

YEAS—Mr. Speaker, Messrs. Augustus, Akers, Barden, Bell, Barksdale, Coffey, Culbertson, Claiborne, Duncan, Downs, Dunlap, Evans, Ellis of Copiah, Gilstrap, Hill, Henley, Hicks, Hall of Lauderdale, Holmes, Knox, Lyles, Matthews, Merinar, McAlister, McWhorter, Murphy, Owen, Pipes, Palmer, Pinson, Reasons, Rogers, Reid, Scales, Smith of Jones, Suratt, Shelton, Tisdale, Tolson, Van Eaton, Wilson, Wheeler, Winburn, Withers, West and Walworth.—47.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Armistead, Bugg, Bromley, Bradford, Byrne, Beaman, Dantzler, Dickens, Gage, Graham, Gasque, Hamilton, Hooker of Hinds, Hooker of Lawrence, Hall of Leake, Hudson, Johnson, Jones of Sunflower, Love, Lake, Martin, McDonald, Purdom, Ruffin, Rutherford, Smedes, Thomas and Walker.—29.

The question was then taken on concurring in the Senate resolution as amended and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Dunlap moved,

That the vote taken on concurring be reconsidered.

On motion of Mr. Wilson,

The motion was laid on the table.

Mr. Smedes offered the following resolution,

Resolved, That the committee on Ways and Means be and they are hereby instructed to inquire into the expediency of altering the law in relation to the mileage of members, so as to provide for the payment to each member the actual cost of his reaching the Capitol from his home and returning thereto according to the accustomed course of travel, and to report a bill accordingly, if deemed proper by them.

Mr. Pinson offered the following amendment,

"And that said committee be also instructed to inquire into the expediency of reducing the salaries of all the officers except in cases forbidden by the Constitution,

Which was lost.

The question was then taken on the adoption of Mr. Smedes' resolution and decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Smedes offered the following resolution,

Resolved, the Senate concurring, That should the Governor convene this Legislature again, or there be an adjourned session

thereof, the business not disposed of at the present session shall stand at the adjourned session in the condition in which it shall be left when this Legislature adjourn *sine die*, and shall be proceeded in accordingly.

On his motion, the rule was suspended.

The question was then taken on the adoption of the resolution and decided in the negative.

Mr. Matthews from the committee on the Judiciary to whom was referred,

A bill to be entitled,

An act to suspend action for the recovery of debt for a limited period,

Reported the same back to the House without amendment and recommend that it do not pass.

Mr. Matthews moved,

That the report be received and agreed to.

A division being called for,

The report was received.

Question on agreeing,

On motion of Mr. Suratt,

The further consideration of the report was postponed for the present.

On motion of Mr. Hooker, of Hinds,

Resolved, That the committee on Military Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill for the establishment of an efficient coast police, composed of such number of vessels as they may deem necessary, to give efficient protection to our sea coast and the establishment of such a number of military ports as may be necessary to give efficient protection to our exposed sea shore.

Mr. Thomas offered the following joint resolution :

Resolved, (the Senate concurring) That the Public Printer be instructed to withhold from distribution, the laws and journals of both Houses of the present session, until some time during the month of March next, in order to embrace the proceedings of an extraordinary session in the event the Legislature be re-assembled by the Governor.

Which by rule lies one day on the table.

On motion of Mr. Rogers,

The House adjourned until three o'clock, P. M.

3 O'CLOCK, P. M.

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Downs, by leave, introduced

A bill to be entitled,

An act to amend the school laws of the county of Itawamba,

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

With title as stated.

Mr. Suratt made the following reports :

MR. SPEAKER—

The joint standing committee on claims, to whom was referred a bill to be entitled an act for the relief of Louis Tilman and Anna Maria Tilman, have had the same under consideration, and have instructed me to report said bill back to the House and recommend that it do pass.

Which was received and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Adams,

The rule was suspended, the bill read the third time and passed,

With title as stated.

MR. SPEAKER—

The joint standing committee on claims, to whom was referred a bill to be entitled an act for the relief of Thomas S. Parker, Sheriff of Clarke county, have had the same under consideration, and have instructed me to report said bill back to the House and recommend that it do pass.

Which was received and agreed to,

And the bill read the third time.

On motion of Mr. Suratt,

The House resolved itself into committee of the whole on the bill.

Mr. Thomas in the Chair.

After a short time spent therein the committee rose, reported the bill back without amendment, with a recommendation that it do not pass.

Which was received and agreed to.

The following message was received from the Senate :

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed House bills entitled as follows :

An act to increase the salary of the Probate Judge of Panola county.

An act to repeal an act entitled, an act to amend an act to secure the interest on the School Fund belonging to the Chickasaw Cession, so far as the said act relates to the county of Tipah.

The Senate has also passed a Senate bill entitled,

An act for the relief of Robert Crenshaw and others.

The Senate refused to concur in the House amendment to the

adjournment resolution, and the President has appointed the following committee of conference:

Messrs. Mason, Neill and Gordon.

Mr. Dantzler moved that the House recede from its amendment to the Senate resolution in relation to the recess of the Legislature.

Which was lost.

On motion of Mr. Henley,

The House concurred in the resolution of the Senate appointing a committee of conference of three on the part of the Senate and ——— on the part of the House in reference to the disagreement of the two Houses fixing a day for the adjournment of the Legislature.

The Chair appointed Messrs. Lake, Henley, Wilson, Tolson and Barksdale, as said committee.

The following message was received from the Senate, through its Secretary, Mr. Cooper:

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed the following House bill:

An act to incorporate the Garlandville Seminary.

And has adopted an amendment thereto, in which the House is desired to concur.

On motion of Mr. Dantzler,

The House concurred in the amendment made by the Senate to the House bill to be entitled an act to incorporate the Garlandville Seminary.

On motion of Mr. Miller,

The Senate bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of Robert Crenshaw and others,

Was called up and read the first time.

On his motion,

The rule was suspended and the bill read the second time.

On his further motion,

The House resolved itself into committee of the whole on said bill.

Mr. Thomas in the Chair.

After some time spent therein the committee rose, reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments, and recommended that it do pass as amended.

Which was received and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Miller,

The rule was suspended, the bill read the third time and passed as amended.

Mr. McDonald, by leave, introduced a bill to be entitled,

An act to restrict the powers of the Board of Police of Tippah county.

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule.

On motion of Mr. Smedes,

The bill was indefinitely postponed.

The following message was received from the Senate, through its Secretary, Mr. Cooper:

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed a bill entitled,

An act for the relief of William Simmons, of Perry county.

Also House bill entitled,

An act to increase the salary of the Probate Judge of Warren county.

Also, an act to amend an act entitled an act for the relief of certain citizens in the counties therein named, approved, Nov. 30, 1860.

On motion of Mr. Smith of Jones,

The Senate bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of Wm. Simmons of Perry county,

Was called up and read the first time.

On his motion,

The rule was suspended, and the bill read the second time.

On his further motion,

The House resolved itself into committee of the whole.

Mr. Reasons in the Chair.

After some time spent therein the committee rose, reported the bill back with an amendment, and recommended its passage as amended.

Which was received and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Smith of Jones,

The rule was suspended, the bill read the third time and passed as amended.

Ordered that the title stand as stated.

Mr. Withers, by leave, introduced

A bill to be entitled,

An act to amend an act entitled an act for the relief of the widow and heirs at law of David Robison, deceased, approved Feb. 3, 1860,

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed.

With title as stated.

Mr. Graham, by leave, introduced

A bill to be entitled,

An act to prevent hawking and peddling.

Which was read twice under a suspension of the rule, and

On motion of Mr. Augustus,

Referred to the judiciary committee.

The following message was received from the Senate, through its Secretary, Mr. Cooper:

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed the following House bills:

An act to amend the school-laws of the county of Itawamba,

An act to amend the charter of the town of Senatobia, in the county of DeSoto,

An act for the relief of Louis Tillman and Anna Mariah Tillman.

The Senate has concurred in the House amendments to Senate bill entitled as follows:

An act for the relief of Robert Crenshaw.

Mr. Lake, from the committee of conference, made the following report:

MR. SPEAKER—

The committee appointed by this House to confer with a like committee on the part of the Senate on the subject of a disagreement by the two Houses on the subject of adjournment, report that the said committees have conferred, and have agreed to recommend to the two Houses the adoption of the amendment of the House with the following additional clause: "that the members of the Legislature shall not, should the Governor hereafter deem it necessary to convene them in extraordinary session be entitled to mileage.

Mr. Lake moved that the report be received and agreed to.

A division being called for,

The report was received.

Question on agreeing,

On motion of Mr. Lake,

The report was laid on the table.

Mr. Palmer, by leave, introduced

A bill to be entitled,

An act to incorporate Center Lodge, No. 190, of Masons, in the county of Attala

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed.

With title as stated.

The following message was received from the Senate, through its Secretary, Mr. Cooper,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has receded from its refusal to adjourn *sine die* tomorrow.

On motion of Mr. Thomas,

The joint resolution of the House in relation to the laws and journals of the present session was called from the table and adopted.

Mr. Van Eaton, by leave, introduced a joint resolution providing for the purchase of certain works by the Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne.

On his motion,

The rule was suspended and the resolution adopted.

On motion of Mr. Pinson,

Resolved, That this House will receive no new business after its adjournment this evening.

On motion of Mr. Barden,

The House adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1861.

The House met pursuant to adjournment.

The Journal of yesterday was read and approved.

Mr. Johnson made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The committee on Enrolled Bills have examined bills of the following titles and find the same correctly enrolled, and have submitted them to the Governor for his signature and approval, to-wit:

An act to repeal an act entitled an act to amend an act to secure the interest on the School Fund belonging to the Chickasaw Session, so far as the said act relates to the county of Tippah, approved, Dec. 14, 1859,

An act to regulate the fees of certain officers of Jasper county,
An act to amend an act entitled an act further to regulate the militia and volunteer system, approved February 10, 1860

An act to increase the salary of the Probate Judge of Panola county,

An act to amend the school laws of Itawamba county,

An act to amend an act entitled an act to incorporate the town of Senatoba, in the county of DeSoto, approved, February 10th, 1860.

An act to amend an act entitled an act for the relief of certain citizens in the counties therein named, approved, Nov. 30, 1860,

An act to increase the salary of the Probate Judge of Warren county,

An act to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors within two miles of the town of Garlandville,

An act for the relief of Louis Tillman and Anna Mariah Tillman.

Mr. Thomas offered the following resolution,
Resolved, (the Senate concurring,) That a committee of — on the part of the Senate, and five on the part of the House be appointed to wait on the Governor and inform him that both Houses have resolved to adjourn at 11 o'clock this day, and inquire of him if he has any further communication to make to the Legislature.

On his motion,

The rule was suspended and the resolution adopted.

The Chair appointed as said committee,

Messrs. Thomas, Augustus, Ruffin, Rogers and Johnston.

Mr. Suratt made the following reports,

MR. SPEAKER—

The standing committee on propositions and grievances, to whom was referred a bill to be entitled an act to authorize the guardian of John G. Hagan of Yazoo county, a person *non compos mentis*, to sell his ward's property, have had the same under consideration, and have instructed me to report said bill back to the House and recommend that it do pass.

On motion of Mr. Suratt,

The report was received and agreed to.

On his motion,

The rule was suspended, the bill read the third time and passed,
 With title as stated.

MR. SPEAKER—

The standing committee on propositions and grievances, to whom was referred a bill to be entitled an act to prevent suits against Southern soldiers, have had the same under consideration, and have instructed me to report said bill back to the House with an amendment thereto and recommend that it do pass as amended.

On motion of Mr. Suratt,

The report was received and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Graham,

The rule was suspended, the bill read the third time and passed
 as amended.

Ordered that title stand as stated.

Mr. Duncan, by leave, introduced

A bill to be entitled,

An act for the relief of E. C. Hunter, tax assessor of Calhoun county.

Which was read three several times under a suspension of the rule and passed,

With title as stated.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has re-considered the vote receding from its disa-

greement to the House resolution of adjournment and insists upon its disagreement to the House amendment to their resolution.

Mr. Lake, by leave, introduced

Resolutions in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi river.

Mr. Claiborne moved to amend by striking out the preamble,
Which was lost.

On motion of Mr. Lake,

The rule was suspended and the resolutions adopted.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has instructed me to ask another committee of conference or the part of the House to consider the disagreement of the two Houses relative to adjournment.

The President has appointed Messrs. McCord, McLain and Oliver, as said committee.

On motion of Mr. Love,

The House insisted upon its amendment to the Senate resolution in relation to the recess of the Legislature, fixing upon this day at 11 o'clock, A. M., for both Houses to adjourn *sine die*.

On motion of Mr. Van Eaton,

The House concurred in the Senate resolution asking another committee of conference in relation to the adjournment of the Legislature.

The Chair appointed Messrs. Van Eaton, Lake, Barksdale, Wilson and Scates, as the committee on the part of the House.

Mr. Suratt made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The joint standing committee on claims, to whom was referred sundry claims, have had the same under consideration, and have instructed me to report the accompanying bill, making sundry appropriations and recommend that it do pass.

Which was received and agreed to,

And the bill read the first and second times by title.

On motion of Mr. Suratt,

The House resolved itself into committee of the whole.

Mr. Dunlap in the Chair.

After some time spent therein the committee rose, reported the bill back with an amendment, and recommended its passage as amended.

Which was received and agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Suratt,

The rule was suspended, the bill read the third time and passed as amended.

The following message was received from the Governor, through his Private Secretary, Mr. Campbell,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Governor has approved and signed House bills entitled,

An act to amend an act further to regulate the militia and volunteer system, approved, Feb. 10th, 1860,

An act to regulate the fees of certain officers in Jasper county,

An act to repeal an act entitled an act to amend an act to secure the interest on the school fund belonging to the Chickasaw cession so far as the said act relates to the county of Tippah, approved, Dec 14th, 1859.

An act to amend the school laws of Itawamba county,

An act to increase the salary of the Probate Judge of Panola county,

An act to amend an act entitled an act to incorporate the town of Senatobia, in the county of DeSoto, approved, February 10th, 1860,

An act to increase the salary of the Probate Judge of Warren county,

An act to amend an act entitled an act for the relief of certain citizens in the counties therein named, approved, November 30th, 1860,

An act for the relief of Louis Tillman and Anna Miriah Tillman,

An act to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors within two miles of the town of Garlandville.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has passed House bills entitled,

An act to extend the time of holding the Circuit court of Covington county in certain cases,

Resolution in relation to the laws and journals of the present session of the Legislature,

Resolution providing for the purchase of certain works by the Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne.

Mr. Van Eaton made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives appointed to confer respecting the matters of difference between them in relation to an adjournment of the two Houses, have met and have instructed me to report as the result of their conference, that the resolution of adjournment as amended by the House of Representatives shall be adopted, with an amendment declaring that the course of adjournment *sine die* is agreed on because the committee believe that the Convention now in session will continue their session for some time to come, so that no day can be fixed as proper for an adjourned meeting of the Legislature, and they are willing to entrust to the discretion of the Governor the calling the Legislature in extraordinary session.

On motion of Mr. Van Eaton,
 The report was received and agreed to.
 Mr. Lake offered the following resolution,
 Which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this House are eminently due and hereby severely tendered to Mr. Speaker Campbell, for the patience, ability and impartiality with which he has presided over their deliberations, and discharged the other duties of his position.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has concurred in joint resolution relative to the navigation of the Mississippi river,

Also, a bill to be entitled,

An act to prevent suits against Southern Soldiers,

The Senate has concurred in the House resolution appointing a committee to wait on the Governor, &c.,

And the President has appointed as the Senate committee, Messrs. Oliver, Neill and McRae,

The Senate has passed House bill entitled,

An act for the relief of the widow and heirs at law of David Robison deceased, approved, Feb. 3, 1860,

The Senate has also passed a House bill to be entitled,

An act making certain appropriations therein named,

An act for the relief of E. C. Hunter of Calhoun county.

The following message was received from the Governor, through his private Secretary, Mr. Campbell,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Governor has approved and signed House bills entitled,

Resolution providing for the purchase of certain works by the Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne,

Resolution in relation to the laws and journals of the present session of the Legislature,

An act to extend the time of holding the Circuit Court of Covington county in certain cases.

The following message was received from the Senate,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Senate has adopted the following resolution,

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to inform the House of Representatives that the Senate having accomplished the objects for which this Legislature was convened, is now ready to adjourn.

Mr. Johnston made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The committee on enrolled bills beg leave to report that they have examined bills of the following titles and find the same correctly enrolled, to-wit,

An act to prevent suits against Southern soldiers,

An act for the relief of E. C. Hunter, tax assessor of Calhoun county,

An act to amend an act entitled an act for the relief of the widow and heirs of David Robison deceased, approved, 3d Feb., 1860,

An act making certain appropriations therein named.

The following message was received from the Governor,

MR. SPEAKER—

The Governor has approved and signed House bills entitled,

An act to prevent suits against Southern soldiers,

An act for the relief of E. C. Hunter, tax assessor of Calhoun county,

An act making certain appropriations therein named,

An act to amend an act entitled an act for the relief of the widow and heirs at law of David Robison deceased, approved, Feb. 3d, 1860.

Mr. Thomas made the following report,

MR. SPEAKER—

The joint committee appointed to wait on the Governor and inform him that the two Houses had accomplished the business before them and were now ready to adjourn *sine die*, beg leave to report that they have discharged that duty, and were informed by the Governor that he had no further communications to make.

On motion of Mr. Thomas,

The report was received and agreed to.

Mr. Purdom moved that the House do now adjourn.

The Speaker, after delivering his Farewell Address, declared the House adjourned *sine die*.

R. C. MILLER, Clerk.

APPENDIX.

[DOCUMENT A.]

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, December 22, 1860.

HIS EXCELLENCY J. J. PETTUS,

Sir:—I have only time to day to transmit to you the action of the authorities of Arkansas concerning the objects of the mission with which I have been entrusted.

A bill calling a Convention of the people has just passed the House of Representatives by a nearly unanimous vote and it is believed will pass the Senate on to-morrow or at an early day.

Reserving the privilege of making a report and detail of the events connected with my visit to the Capital of our sister of Arkansas.

I am, with sentiments of high respect and consideration,

Your obedient servant,

G. R. FALL, Commissioner.

Special Message from the Governor relative to Commissioner from Mississippi.

MR. SPEAKER:—I am instructed by the governor, to deliver to the House of Representatives the following message and accompanying documents.

W. M. MATHENY, Private Secretary.

December 18, 1860.

MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :—For the information of your honorable body, I beg leave to communicate to you, the following letter, addressed to me by the Hon. George R. Fall, a commissioner deputed by the authorities of the State of Mississippi, to the State of Arkansas, to inform the people of this commonwealth of the action taken by the legislature of said State, touching the present threatening relations existing between the Northern and Southern States of the Union.

Also the letter of appointment or commission, given by his excellency, John J. Pettus, Governor of the State of Mississippi, to said commissioner.

Also, the convention bill, and federal resolutions, passed by the legislature of that State, and delivered in person by the said Hon. Geo. R. Fall, commissioner, to me this morning.

HENRY M. RECTOR.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, December 17, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY H. M. RECTOR,

Sir :—It has been made my duty to inform your excellency, that the legislature of the State of Mississippi, “has passed an act calling a convention of the people of the State to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the confederacy, aggravated by the election of a president upon principles of hostility to the States of the South, and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi, that those States will co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for their common defence and safety.” I herewith present that act, and also a preamble and resolution, passed by the same body, upon a subject of vital interest, not only to the people of Mississippi and the slaveholding States, but to the people of all the States of the Union.

I take the occasion to remark, that the action of the Mississippi legislature was marked, I believe, by entire unanimity. On the eve of great events, that body resolved to bury old partizan feuds, and as members of the same family to make a united and concentrated efforts to receive southern co-operation and southern resistance in defence of southern honor and institutions. Doing nothing rashly—making no issue for her sister States, she seeks their earnest and cordial co-operation, with a view of obtaining a full and

final settlement of this great question of the century ; but if, after a reasonable delay, her propositions are rejected, she will resume her sovereignty, and meet the strife alone, let the consequences be what they may.

Trusting, sir, that in the approaching conflict, the great State of which you are the honored executive, will be found co-operating with Mississippi, I am with high respect,

Your excellency's obedient servant,
G. R. FALL, Commissioner from Mississippi.

STATE OF ARKANSAS.

WEDNESDAY, December 19, 1860.

In the Senate the following proceedings, among others, were had, to-wit :

The following message was received from the House of Representatives, by the clerk :

MR. PRESIDENT :—I am instructed to inform your honorable body that the House of Representatives have adopted the following joint resolutions, to-wit :

"Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, That we have received, with the highest sentiments of respect, the communications which have been made to us by the State of Mississippi through her distinguished commissioner, George R. Fall, Esq., and we hail with the highest pleasure, this assurance on the part of Mississippi, that the fraternal regard and warm relations which have characterized, heretofore, the intercourse of our States will continue and that our citizens have a common interest, deep, lasting and abiding.

Resolved, That we discharge a just and pleasing duty in testifying to the State of Mississippi the able and dignified manner in which her commissioner has discharged the offices entrusted to him by his State.

Resolved, That the State of Arkansas deeply appreciates the motion of Mississippi in proposing to counsel with those who have a common interest and a common destiny with herself, fully recognizing, with her, the necessity for prompt and early action in view of the present disturbed relations between the two sections of our confederacy ; that we feel this government has been prostituted by the fanaticism of a large political party from the high and pure objects for which it was formed, and rendered an engine of oppression to those whom our forefathers recognized as co-equals in this government.

Resolved, That the Governor of this State be requested to communicate the foregoing resolutions to the Governor of Mississippi.

Resolved, That the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, transmit to the Hon. Geo. R. Fall a copy of the foregoing resolutions."

Said resolutions are herewith transmitted for the concurrence of your honorable body, which is respectfully asked.

S. M. SCOTT,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

FRIDAY, December 21, 1860.

On motion of Mr. McColloch, the House joint resolutions complimentary to Hon. Geo. R. Fall, were taken up, read and concurred in.

In testimony that the foregoing proceedings were had as appears from the journals of the two houses of the General Assembly, the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives hereto set their hands, the same being attested by their Secretary and Clerk, on this twenty-first day of December, A. D., 1860.

THOMAS FLETCHER,
President of the Senate.

BRADLEY BUNCH,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Attest—JOHN D. KIMBALL, *Secretary of the Senate.*

S. M. SCOTT, *Clerk of the House of Representatives.*

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, December 20, 1860.

HIS EXCELLENCY, HENRY M. RECTOR,

Sir:—Having discharged the duties assigned me, by the Executive of Mississippi, my official intercourse with your Excellency will terminate on to-morrow.

You will permit me to remark, that my sojourn in your Capital will always be remembered with pleasure, in consequence of the numerous evidences of respect shown to my State and the courtesy which has been personally extended to myself not only by your Excellency but by the Legislative authorities and citizens of Arkansas.

I beg that your Excellency will accept for yourself and convey to the Legislature of your State this simple acknowledgment of my high consideration and respect.

Your Excellency's obedient servant,
G. R. FALL, Commissioner from Mississippi.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
LITTLE ROCK, Dec. 20, 1860. }

HON. GEO. R. FALL,

COMMISSIONER EXTRAORDINARY FROM THE STATE OF
MISSISSIPPI TO THE STATE OF ARKANSAS.

Sir:—I am in receipt of your communication of this morning, announcing that the duties assigned to you by the Executive of Mississippi have been discharged, and that your official intercourse with the authorities of Arkansas will cease on to-morrow.

You are also pleased to allude in terms highly gratifying to the numerous evidences of respect shown to your State and the courtesy personally extended to yourself by the Executive and Legislative authorities of Arkansas.

Be pleased to accept in return my acknowledgements for the consideration shown by the authorities of Mississippi to those of Arkansas, evidenced by your mission here.

With an assurance that the warmest sympathies are felt, by myself at least, and I am confident by a large majority of our people in common with Mississippi, and other sister States of the South which have been goaded by persistent, and relentless persecution, to seek their future safety, and protect their honor, inside of a separate nationality.

With sentiments of great respect for yourself, and the authorities of your State.

I am respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
HENRY M. RECTOR,
Governor of the State of Arkansas.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., December 25, 1860.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN J. PETTUS,
GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

Sir:—I have already enclosed to your Excellency, the official action of the authorities of Arkansas, relating to the objects of the mission with which I have been recently entrusted to that State.

Immediately upon receipt of my credentials, I repaired to

Little Rock and presented to His Excellency, Henry M. Rector, the bill calling a Convention of the people of Mississippi, together with the resolutions passed by our Legislature at its late session. These documents were promptly laid before the Legislature of Arkansas, then in session by the Executive, and three thousand copies ordered to be printed for distribution. Accompanying them was a note from your Commissioner, which, with other proceedings have been forwarded to the Executive Department, to which your Excellency is referred.

When your Commissioner left the Capitol of Arkansas, a bill calling a Convention of the people of that State had passed the House of Representatives by an almost unanimous vote, and no doubt is now the law of the land.

The question of secession is a new one in Arkansas. It has never yet been debated or considered there; and it is not, therefore, surprising that the people of that great State, should not be as familiar with it, and as ready to act upon it, as are the people of Mississippi, where it has been discussed for many years, and where her most eminent statesmen, cheerfully embracing this issue, have on more than one contest before the people been beaten down and driven to private life. Nevertheless, the evidences of a determination on the part of Arkansas to co-operate with the Southern States on the formation of a Southern Confederacy are of the most cheering and substantial character. The people are moving in their primary assemblies in all sections of the State, and the Executive and Legislative branches of the government, recognize the necessity of prompt and early action in view of the threatening relations of the Confederacy.

In my intercourse with the authorities of Arkansas, I have kept constantly in view the chief object of my mission, and have not failed, on all proper occasions, to respectfully urge the views and policy of Mississippi; and it will be gratifying to your Excellency to be informed, that your Commissioner, officially as well as individually, was always received with the greatest kindness and the highest consideration.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's

Obedient servant,

G. R. FALL,

Commissioner from Mississippi.

[DOCUMENT B.]

FRANKFORD, KY., Dec. 19th, 1860.

HIS EXCELLENCY. B. MAGOFFIN,

Sir:—I herewith transmit to your Excellency a series of resolutions passed by the Legislature of Mississippi, at a called session thereof, on the 30th day of November, 1860. By these resolutions the Governor of Mississippi is authorized and requested to appoint as many commissioners as in his judgment may be necessary to visit each of the slave-holding States and inform them, that the Legislature of Mississippi had passed an act calling a Convention of the people said State to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the Confederacy, aggravated by the recent election of a President on principles of hostility to the States of the South, and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi, that those States will co-operate with her, in the adoption of efficient measures for their common defense and safety.

The resolutions further provide, "that should any Southern State not have convened its Legislature, the Commissioner to such State, shall appeal to the Governor thereof to call the Legislature together, in order that its co-operation may be immediately secured."

In discharging the duty which devolved on the Executive of Mississippi by the resolutions referred to, His Excellency John J. Pettus, has conferred on me the appointment of Commissioner to the Commonwealth of Kentucky. I am now ready to lay before your Excellency my credentials, and to enter into the conference contemplated by the Legislature of Mississippi in creating and filling the mission, I have the honor to await your Excellency's reply.

Very respectfully,

W. S. FEATHERSTON.

HOLLY SPRINGS, Jan. 2d, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN J. PETTUS,

Sir:—Immediately on the receipt of my credentials as Commissioner to the State of Kentucky, I visited the Capitol

of that Commonwealth. I learned in conference with His Excellency Governor Magoffin, that the Legislature of that State, had not been convened, as well as the reasons which had restrained him from issuing his proclamation for that purpose. I now have the pleasure, however, of announcing, that his proclamation has since that time been issued, and that the Legislature of Kentucky will convene in extra session on the 17th of this month.

I was assured by Governor Magoffin, that Kentucky was as emphatically pro-slavery as any one of her Southern sisters. And, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, and of Kentucky's being forced to make her election between the two sections of the Confederacy, she would unquestionably go with the South. He also assured me, that a very large majority of the people of that State, would not favor the secession of Kentucky until in their judgment all honorable means of securing their rights, and saving their honor within the Union, had been exhausted. That, they desired a Convention of the Southern States, in order to agree upon such additional guarantees or amendments to the Constitution of the United States as would settle finally and forever this sectional controversy, upon a basis satisfactory to the South. If these rights thus asserted by a Southern Convention, should not be promptly conceded by the North, Kentucky would then be ready for secession. Such is the present state of public opinion there, as I learned from every reliable source of information. I was proud to witness there, however, the same indications of a rapid change in public opinion that are now seen in all of the Southern States. Kentucky is evidently moving in the right direction. Her people are a proud-spirited, chivalric race who are disposed to submit no longer to Northern aggression. The prompt secession of the Cotton States, would, in my judgment, speedily unite the entire South in one Confederacy.

I have the honor to be, very truly,

Your obedient servant,

W. S. FEATHERSTON.

P. S.—I transmit to your Excellency herewith, copies of the only correspondence which ensued between Governor Magoffin and myself.

Very truly,

W. S. F.

[DOCUMENT C.]

JACKSON, Dec. 31st, 1860.

HIS EXCELLENCY, J. J. PETTUS,
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to report herewith the proceedings of the Legislature of the State of Georgia, on my reception as commissioner, by your appointment, from the State of Mississippi. Also a copy of my Address delivered before that body.

I should do injustice to my own feelings—to the people of Mississippi—and more than all, to the authorities and people of the State of Georgia—if I failed to make known here, the distinguished kindness, and prompt attention, with which your Commissioner was greeted, at the Capitol of Georgia. As a native son of Georgia, I felt proud of the dignity, generosity and fraternity, of her honored sons, in their reception of your agent, and their cordial response to the message of Mississippi, which I had the honor to communicate; and as an adopted son of Mississippi and her accredited agent, I was equally proud, to be the recipient, for her, of the friendly greeting and assurance, unanimously extended—and herewith communicated to your Excellency.

It affords me pleasure to add, that while there may be differences among her distinguished sons and their respective supporters, as to some minor matters, there is but *one voice* in Georgia as to *her secession, in the event that Mississippi, Alabama and Florida, shall have taken that step, before the meeting of her Convention, on the 16th January.* I have the fullest confidence, that Georgia will never separate herself from her sisters and her children, *of the Gulf States.* Nothing but hesitation, indecision, or delay, upon their part, will impede her onward march *with them*, to vindicate our common rights and redress our common wrongs.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM L. HARRIS.

*Commissioner from the State of Mississippi
to the State of Georgia.*

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,)
 MILLEDGEVILLE, GA., Dec. 15, 1860. }

To the General Assembly:—I have the pleasure to inform you, that the Hon. William L. Harris, who has been appointed by the Governor of the State of Mississippi, by authority of the Legislature of that State, a Commissioner to this State, to inform the people of Georgia, through their Executive and Legislature, that the State of Mississippi has called a Convention of the people of that State; for the purpose of considering our present grievances, &c., and asking our co-operation in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defense and safety of the South; has been received at this Department, and is now ready to confer with the General Assembly, upon the subject of his important mission.

I herewith enclose a copy of the commission of Judge Harris, and ask for him the courtesy and consideration due his high position as a gentleman, and as the representative of a sovereign sister State with whom we have a common interest, and a common destiny.

JOSEPH E. BROWN.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MILLEDGEVILLE, GA., December 15, 1860.

WHEREAS, A message from His Excellency the Governor has informed us that the Hon. William L. Harris, a Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, to the State Georgia has arrived at the Capitol;

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by the Speaker, to wait upon the Hon. William L. Harris of Mississippi, and tender him a seat upon the floor of this House, and also to act in concert with a committee to be appointed by the Senate, to inform him that the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, will be ready to receive and hear him in the Representative Hall on Monday next at 12 o'clock M.

Resolved, That the Senate be requested to concur in this action of the House of Representatives.

The committee appointed under the foregoing resolutions, consist of Messrs. Hartridge, Smith of Towns, Fannin, Ely and Tatum.

SENATE CHAMBER.

MILLEDGEVILLE, GA., December 15, 1860.

On motion of Mr. Billups, the Senate concurred in the resolution of the House, and appointed Messrs. Billups, McGehee and Tracy, a committee on the part of the Senate, to act in concert with the committee of the House under said resolutions.

On further motion, Hon. William L. Harris was invited to a seat on the floor of the Senate.

After the committee had discharged their duty; the two Houses met in convention, when the Hon. William L. Harris, Commissioner of the State of Mississippi, was introduced and delivered his Address. When on motion, the Senate returned to their Chamber.

The following resolutions were then offered in the Senate by the Hon. Thomas Butler King.

Resolved. That a Joint Select Committee be appointed, of six on the part of the Senate and seven on the part of the House of Representatives, to consider and report the proper form and terms in which to express the opinion of this General Assembly in response to the friendly and important communication from the State of Mississippi, through her Commissioner the Hon. W. L. Harris.

The committee appointed under said resolution are Messrs. King, Moore, Briscoe, Holt, Lawton and Printup.

On motion of Mr. Hartridge, the House concurred in the resolution of the Senate, and appointed Messrs. Hartridge, Lester, Fannin, Lewis, Anderson, Barnes and Harris, a committee to act in concert with the committee of the Senate under said resolution.

Mr. King from the Joint Select Committee, to whom was referred the communication of the Governor of Mississippi to the Governor of this State, asks leave to submit the following report:

WHEREAS, A large portion of the people of the non-slaveholding States, have for many years past, shown in many ways a fanatical spirit bitterly hostile to the Southern States, and have through the instrumentality of incendiary publications, the pulpit and the newspaper press, finally organized a political party for the avowed purpose of destroying the institution of slavery, and consequently spreading ruin and desolation among the people in every portion of the States where it exists:

And whereas, This spirit of fanaticism has allied itself with a design long entertained by leading politicians of the North, to wield the taxing power of the Government, for the purpose of protecting and fostering the interest of that section of the Union, and also, to appropriate the common territories of the United States to the exclusive use of northern emigration, for the purpose of extending, consolidating, and rendering that power irreversible :

And whereas, These designs and movements have attained ascendancy, such as to combine a large majority of the Northern people in this sectional party, which has elected to the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, candidates who are pledged in the most solemn form and the plainest, repeated declarations to wield all the influence and power of the Federal Government to accomplish the objects and purposes of the party, by which they have been elected :

And whereas, Many of the slaveholding States are about to assemble in Convention for the purpose of adopting measures for the protection of their rights, and the security of their institutions :

And whereas, The State of Mississippi has, in a noble spirit of fraternity sent a Commissioner to communicate to this General Assembly, her desire in the emergency in our Federal relations ; Therefore be it,

Resolved, 1st. That the General Assembly of Georgia, has listened with sentiments of profound sympathy and respect to the message of Mississippi, on the subject of the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the United States, communicated by her distinguished Commissiorder, the Hon. William L. Harris.

Resolved, 2d. That believing as we do, that the present crisis in our national affairs, demands resistance, this General Assembly, at its present session, has, with great unanimity, passed " An act providing for the call of a Convention of the people of Georgia, to assemble on the 16th day of January, 1861, for the purpose of determining on the *mode, measure* and time of that resistance.

Resolved, 3d. That we cordially respond to the patriotic hopes of Mississippi, so earnestly expressed by her Legislature, and so ably communicated by her Commissioner, and we do hereby give our sister State, the confident assurance, that in our judgment, Georgia will promptly co-operate with her, in the adoption of efficient measures, for the common defense, safety, and honor of the South,

Resolved, 4th. That should any, or all of the Southern States determine, in the present emergency, to withdraw from the Union, and resume their sovereignty, it is the sense of this General Assembly, that such seceding States should form a Confederacy under a Republican form of Government, and to that end, they should adopt the Constitution of the United States, so altered and amended as to suit the new State of affairs.

Resolved, 5th. That we do hereby express our cordial appreciation of the dignified and gentlemanly bearing of the Honorable William L. Harris, towards the General Assembly, as well as the satisfactory manner in which he has discharged the responsible duties of his high commission.

Resolved further, That His Excellency the Governor be, and he hereby is requested to cause all the proceedings in the reception of the Commissioner from the State of Mississippi to be enrolled on parchment, signed by the officers of both Houses of the General Assembly, and by the Governor, with the seal of State attached thereto, and that the same be presented by him to the Hon. William L. Harris, as the response of Georgia to the friendly greeting of Mississippi.

CHARLES J. WILLIAMS,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

T. L. GUERRY,

President of the Senate.

GEO. HILLYER,

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

FRED. H. WEST,

Secretary of the Senate.

JOSEPH E. BROWN, *Governor.*

Assented to December 19, 1861.

4

MILLEDGEVILLE, GA., Dec. 17th, 1860.

TO HON. W. L. HARRIS,

COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI:

Dear Sir:—The undersigned Committee, appointed by the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, to solicit of you a copy of your patriotic Address, delivered before the General Assembly, have the pleasure to communicate the same to you, with the hope that you will comply

with our reasonable request. We have the honor to be yours, with considerations of respect.

W. H. PILCHER, }
J. W. BRINSON, } *Committee.*
WM. GIBSON, }

MILLEDGEVILLE, GA., Dec. 17th, 1860.

Gentlemen:—Yours of this date, requesting, on behalf of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia, a copy of the address, I had the honor to deliver this day before the General Assembly, is before me.

I will place the desired copy at your disposal, at the earliest moment in my power.

With grateful feelings to the distinguished body you represent, for the compliment implied in their resolution,

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
WILLIAM L. HARRIS.

ADDRESS.

Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia:—I am profoundly sensible of the delicate and important duty imposed upon me, by the courtesy of this public reception.

Under different circumstances, it would have afforded me great pleasure, as a native Georgian—reared and educated on her soil—to express to you fully, the views which prevail in my State, in relation to the great measures of deliverance and relief from the principles and policy of the new Administration, which are there in progress.

I cannot consent, however, upon the very heel of your arduous and exciting session, to avail myself of your respectful courtesy to the State I have the honor to represent, as well as your personal kindness to her humble representative, to prolong the discussion of a subject which, however important and absorbing, has, doubtless, been already exhausted in your hearing, by some of the first intellects of your State, if not of the nation.

I beg, therefore, to refer you to the action of Mississippi—already submitted to your Executive—to ask for her the sympathy and co-operation she seeks for the common good, and briefly to suggest to you some of the motives which influence her conduct.

I am instructed by the resolution from which I derive my mission, to inform the State of Georgia, that Mississippi has passed an act calling a Convention of the people, “to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the Confederacy—*aggravated* by the recent election of a President, upon principles of hostility to the States of the South; and to express the *earnest* hope of Mississippi, that this State will co-operate with her in the adoption of *efficient measures* for their common defense and safety.”

It will be remembered, that the violation of our constitutional rights, which has caused such universal dissatisfaction in the South, is not of recent date. Ten years since, this Union was rocked from centre to circumference, by the very same outrages, of which we now complain, only now “*aggravated*” by the recent election. Nothing but her devotion to the Union our Fathers made, induced the South, *then*, to yield to a compromise, in which Mr. Clay rightly said, we had yielded everything but our honor. We had then in Mississippi a warm contest, which finally ended in reluctant acquiescence in the Compromise measures. The North pledged anew her faith to yield to us our constitutional rights in relation to slave property. They are now, and have been ever since that act, denied to us, until her broken faith and impudent threats, had become almost insufferable *before* the late election.

There were three candidates presented to the North by Southern men, all of whom represented the last degree of conservatism and concession, which their respective parties were willing to yield, to appease the fanaticism of the North. Some of them were scarcely deemed sound, in the South, on the slavery question and none of them suited our ultra men. And yet the North rejected them all; and their *united* voice, both before and since their overwhelming triumph in this election, has been more defiant and more intolerant than ever before. They have demanded, and now demand, equality between the white and negro races, under our Constitution; equality in representation, equality in the right of suffrage, equality in the honors and emoluments of office, equality in the social circle, equality in the

rights of matrimony. The cry has been, and now is, "that slavery must cease, or American liberty must perish," that "the success of Black Republicanism is the triumph of anti-slavery," "a revolution in the tendencies of the government that must be carried out."

To-day our government stands *totally revolutionized*, in its main features, and our Constitution broken and overturned. The new administration, which has effected this revolution, only awaits the 4th of March for the inauguration of the new government, the new principles, and the new policy, upon the success of which they have proclaimed freedom to the slave, but eternal degradation for you and for us.

No revolution was ever more complete, though bloodless, if you will tamely submit to the destruction of that Constitution and that Union our fathers made.

Our fathers made this a government for the white man, rejecting the negro, as an ignorant, inferior, barbarian race, incapable of self-government, and not, therefore, entitled to be associated with the white man upon terms of civil, political, or social equality.

The new administration comes into power, under the solemn pledge to overturn and strike down this great feature of our Union, without which it would never have been formed, and to substitute in its stead their new theory of the universal equality of the black and white races.

Our fathers secured to us, by our Constitutional Union, now being overturned by this Black Republican rule, protection to life, liberty and property, *all over the Union*, and wherever its flag was unfurled, whether on land or sea.

Under this wretched, lawless spirit and policy, now usurping the control of that government, citizens of the South have been deprived of their property, and for attempting to seek the redress promised by the compromise laws, have lost their liberty and their lives.

Equality of rights secured to white men, in equal sovereign States, is among the most prominent features of the Constitution under which we have so long lived.

This equality has been denied us in the South for years in the common territories, while the North has virtually distributed them as bounties to abolition fanatics and foreigners, for their brigand service in aiding in our exclusion.

Our Constitution, in unmistakable language guarantees the return of our fugitive slaves. Congress has recognized her duty in this respect, by enacting proper laws for the enforcement of this right.

And yet these laws have been continually nullified, and the solemn pledge of the Compromise of 1850, by which the North came under renewed obligations to enforce them, has been faithlessly disregarded, and the government and its officers set at defiance.

Who now expects these rebels against the laws passed by their own consent and procurement—rebels against justice and common honesty—to become pious patriots by the acquisition of power? Who now expects Mr. Lincoln to become conservative, when the only secret of his success, and the only foundation of his authority, is the will and command of that robber clan, whose mere instrument he is, who have achieved this revolution in our government by treading under their unhallowed feet our Constitution and laws and the Union of our fathers, and by openly defying high heaven by wilful and corrupt perjury?

And, above all, who is it in the South, born or descended of Revolutionary sires, *who so loves such company*, as that he will long hesitate before he can obtain the consent of a virtuous and patriotic heart and conscience to separate from them *forever*?

Mississippi is firmly convinced that there is but one alternative :

This *new union* with Lincoln Black Republicans and free negroes, *without slavery*; or, slavery under our old constitutional bond of union, *without* Lincoln Black Republicans, of free negroes either, to molest us.

If we take the former, then submission to negro equality is our fate. If the latter, then *secession* is inevitable—each State for itself and by itself, but with a view to the immediate formation of a Southern Confederacy, under our present Constitution, by such of the slaveholding States as shall agree in their Conventions to unite with us.

Mississippi seeks no delay—the issue is not new to her people. They have long and anxiously watched its approach—they think it too late, now, to negotiate more compromises with bankrupts in political integrity whose recreancy to justice, good faith and constitutional obligations is the most cherished feature of their political organization.

She has exhausted her rights in sacrificial offerings to save the Union, until nearly all is lost but her honor and the courage to defend it. She has tried conventions until they have become the ridicule of both our friends and our enemies—mere instruments of fraudulent evasion and delay, to wear out the spirit of our people and encourage the

hopes of our common enemy. In short, she is sick and tired of the North, and pants for some respite from eternal disturbance and disquiet.

She comes now to you,—our glorious old mother,—the land of Baldwin, who first defiantly asserted and preserved your rights as to slavery, in the Federal Convention, in opposition to Messrs. Madison, Mason, and Randolph, and the whole Union except the two Carolinas,—the land of Jackson, who immortalized himself by his bold exposure and successful overthrow of a legislative fraud and usurpation upon the rights of the people,—the land of Troup, the sternest Roman of them all, who, single-handed and alone, without co-operation, without consultation, but with truth and justice, and the courage of freemen at home on his side, defied this National Government in its usurpation on the rights of Georgia, and executed your laws in spite of the threats of Federal coercion. It is to you we come,—the brightest exemplar among the advocates and defenders of States rights and State remedies,—to take counsel and solicit sympathy in this hour of our common trial.

I ask you, shall Mississippi follow in the footsteps of Georgia, when led by her gallant Troup? Or, is it reserved for this generation to repudiate and expunge the brightest page in the history of my native State? Impossible! God forbid it! Forbid it, ye people of all Northern and Western Georgia, who, to-day, owe your existence and unparalleled prosperity to the maintenance of your rights at the risk of civil war.

I see around me some gallant spirits who bore their share in the dangers, and now wear with honor, here to-day in this Hall the laurels won on the side of their State, under the banner, inscribed “Troup and the treaty” in that memorable struggle. Need I appeal to them in behalf of my adopted State, to know on what side they will range themselves in this struggle of right, against usurpation, of brute force, against the Constitutional rights of a sister of this confederacy of equal States? I make no such appeal; I *know* where you stand. To doubt it would be to offer you the grossest insult.

In this school of old republican orthodoxy, I drew my first breath. It was here, I first studied, then embraced, and next feebly advocated the principles of State Rights and State remedies of resistance to tyranny—of the supremacy and sovereignty of the people of a State, and the subserviency of governments to their peace and happiness and safe-

ty. These principles will descend with me to the grave, where this frail tenement of dust must perish, but *they* will live on with time, and only perish when tyranny shall be no more.

I need not remind your great State, that thousands and thousands of her sons and daughters, who have sought and found happy homes and prosperous fortunes in the distant forests of her old colonial domain, though now adopted children of Mississippi, still cling with the fond embrace of filial love to this old mother of States and of statesmen, from whom both they and their adopted State derive their origin. It will be difficult for such to *conceive*, that they are not still the objects of your kind solicitude and maternal sympathy.

Mississippi indulges the *most confident expectation and belief*, founded on sources of information she cannot doubt, as well as on the existence of causes, operating upon them, alike as upon her, that every other Gulf State will stand by her side in defense of the position she is about to assume; and she would reproach herself, and every Georgia son within her limits, would swell with indignation, if she hesitated to believe that Georgia too, would blend *her* fate with her natural friends; her sons and daughters—her neighboring sisters in the impending struggle.

Whatever may be the result of your deliberations, I beg to assure her from my intimate knowledge of the spirit and affections of our people, that no enemy to *her* constitutional rights, may consider his victory won, while a Mississippian lives to prolong the contest. Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, the part of Mississippi is chosen, *she will never submit* to the principles and policy of this Black Republican Administration.

She had rather see the last of her race, men, women and children, immolated in one common funeral pile, than see them subjected to the degradation of civil, political and social equality with the negro race.

[DOCUMENT D.]

ADDRESS OF

FULTON ADERSON, ESQ.,

Commissioner of Mississippi,

Before the Convention of Virginia, in the city of Richmond,
February 18, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Convention:—Honored by the Government of Mississippi with her commission to invite your co-operation in the measures she has been compelled to adopt for the vindication of her rights and her honor in the present perilous crisis of the country, I desire to express to you, in the name and behalf of her people, the sentiments of esteem and admiration which they in common with the whole Southorn people entertain for the character and fame of this ancient and renowned Commonwealth.

Born under the same confederated government with yourselves, and participating in the common inheritance of Constitutional liberty in the achievement of which your ancestors played so distinguished a part, we take as much of pride and pleasure as you, her native sons, in the great achievements and still greater sacrifices which you have made in the cause of the common government, which has in the past united them to you; and nothing which concerns your honor and dignity in the future can fail to enlist our deepest sympathies. In recurring to our past history we recognize the State of Virginia in the first great struggle for independence; foremost not only in the vindication of her own rights, but in the assertion and defense of the endangered liberties of her sister colonies: and by the eloquence of her orators and statesmen, as well as by the courage of her people, arousing the whole American people in resistance to British aggression. And when the common cause had been crowned with victory under her great warrior-statesman, we recognize her also as the leader in that great work by which the emancipated colonies were united under a written Constitution, which for the greater part of a century has been the source of unexampled progress in all that constitutes the greatness and the happiness of nations; nor do we forget that that progress has been due in a pre-eminent degree to the munificent generosity of Virginia, in

donating as a free gift to her country, that vast territory north-west of the Ohio river, which her arms alone had conquered, and which now constitutes the seat of empire, and, alas, too, the seat of that irresistible power, which now erects its haughty crest in defiance and hostility, and threatens the destruction of the honor and the prosperity of this great State.

I desire also to say to you, gentlemen, that in being compelled to sever our connexion with the government which has hitherto united us, the hope which lies nearest to our hearts is that, at no distant day, we may be again joined with you in another Union, which shall spring into life under more favorable omens and with happier auspices than accompanied that which has passed away; and if, in the uncertain future which lies before us, that hope shall be destined to disappointment, it will be the source of enduring sorrow and regret to us that we can no more hail the glorious soil of Virginia as a part of our common country, nor her brave and generous people as our fellow-citizens.

Fully participating in these sentiments myself, it is with pride and pleasure that I accepted the commission of my State for the purposes I have indicated. Though, when I consider the gravity of the occasion, the high interests which are involved, and the influence which your deliberations are to have upon the destinies of present and future generations, I confess my regret that the cause on which I am come has not been entrusted to abler and worthier hands.

In setting forth to you, gentlemen, the action of my State and the causes which induced it, I shall be compelled to speak in terms of condemnation of a large portion of what has hitherto been our common country; but in doing so, I wish to be understood as excepting from whatever terms of censure I may employ, that large body of patriotic and conservative men of the Northern section, who have, in all our struggles, manfully defended the constitutional rights of our section. For them, the people of my State, have no cause of complaint, and whatever the future may bring forth, we shall ever remember their efforts in behalf of the Constitution and Union, as we received them from their ancestors and ours, with admiration and gratitude. Our grievances are not from them, but from the dominant faction of the North which has trampled them under foot and now strikes at us from the elevation it has obtained upon the prostrate bodies of our friends.

I propose, gentlemen, in discharge of my mission to you,

briefly to invite your attention to a review of the events which have transpired in Mississippi since the fatal day when that sectional Northern party triumphed over the Constitution and Union at the recent election, and afterwards to the causes which have induced the action of my State.

On the 29th of November last, the Legislature of Mississippi, by an unanimous vote, called a convention of her people, to take into consideration the existing relations between the Federal Government and herself, and to take such measures for the vindication, of her sovereignty and the protection of her institutions as should appear to be demanded. At the same time, a preamble, setting forth the grievances of the Southern people on the slavery question, and a resolution, declaring that the secession of every aggrieved State, was the proper remedy, was adopted by a vote almost amounting to unanimity. The last clause of the preamble and resolution, are as follows :

"Whereas, they (the people of the non-slaveholding States) have elected a majority of electors for President and Vice-President, on the ground that there exists an irreconcilable conflict between the two sections of the Confederacy, in reference to their respective systems of labor, and in pursuance of their hostility to us, and our institutions, have thus declared to the civilized world that the powers of the government are to be used for the dishonor and overthrow of the Southern section of this great Confederacy. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That in the opinion of those who constitute said Legislature, the secession of each aggrieved State is the proper remedy for these injuries."

On the day fixed for the meeting of the Convention, that body convened in Jackson, and on the 9th of January, 1861, proceeded to the adoption of an ordinance of secession from the Federal Union, by which the State of Mississippi withdrew from the Federal Government the powers theretofore confided to it, and assumed an independent position among the powers of the earth ; determined thenceforth to hold the people of the non-slaveholding section of the late confederacy as she holds the balance of mankind : enemies in war, and in peace friends. But at the same time, and by the same ordinance, it was provided "that the State of Mississippi hereby gives her consent to form a Federal Union with such of the States as may have seceded, or may secede, from the Union of the United States of America, upon the basis of the present Constitution of the United States."

This action of the Convention of Mississippi, gentlemen of the Convention, was the inevitable result of the position which she, with other slaveholding States, had already taken, in view of the anticipated result of the recent Presidential election, and must have been foreseen by every intelligent observer of the progress of events.

As early as the 10th of February, 1860, her Legislature had, with the general approbation of her people, adopted the following resolution :

Resolved, That the election of a President of the United States by the votes of one section of the Union only, on the ground that there exists an irrepressible conflict between the two sections in reference to their respective systems of labor and with an avowed purpose of hostility to the institution of slavery, as it exists in the Southern States, and as recognized in the compact of Union, would so threaten a destruction of the ends for which the Constitution was formed as justify the slaveholding States in taking counsel together for their separate protection and safety."

Thus was the ground taken, not only by Mississippi, but by other slaveholding States, in view of the then threatened purpose, of a party founded upon the idea of unrelenting and eternal hostility to the institution of slavery, to take possession of the Government and use it to our destruction. It cannot, therefore, be pretended that the Northern people did not have ample warning of the disastrous and fatal consequences that would follow the success of that party in the election, and impartial history will emblazon it to future generations, that it was their folly, their recklessness and their ambition, not ours, which shattered into pieces this great confederated government, and destroyed this great temple of constitutional liberty which their ancestors and ours erected, in the hope that their descendants might together worship beneath its roof as long as time would last.

But, in defiance of the warning thus given and of the evidences accumulated from a thousand other sources, that the Southern people would never submit to the degradation implied in the result of such an election, that sectional party, bounded by a geographical line which excluded it from the possibility of obtaining a single electoral vote in the Southern States, avowing for its sentiment implacable hatred to us, and for its policy the destruction of our institutions, appealing to Northern prejudice, Northern passions, Northern ambition and Northern hatred of us, for success, and

thus practically disfranchising the whole body of the Southern people, proceeded to the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency who, though not the most conspicuous personage in its ranks, was yet the truest representative of its destructive principles.

The steps by which it proposed to effect its purposes, the ultimate extinction of slavery, and the degradation of the Southern people, are too familiar to require more than a passing allusion from me.

Under the false pretence of restoring the government to the original principles of its founders, but in defiance and contempt of those principles, it avowed its purpose to take possession of every department of power, executive, legislative and judicial, to employ them in hostility to our institutions. By a corrupt exercise of the power of appointment to office, it proposed to pervert the judicial power from its true end and purpose, that of defending and preserving the Constitution, to be the willing instrument of its purposes of wrong and oppression. In the meantime it proposed to disregard the decisions of that august tribunal, and by the exertion of barefaced power, to exclude slavery from the public Territory, the common property of all the States, and to abolish the internal slave trade between the States acknowledging the legality of that institution.

It proposed further to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all places within the Territory of the several States, subject under the Constitution to the jurisdiction of Congress, and to refuse hereafter under all circumstances, admission into the Union of any State with a Constitution recognizing the institution of slavery.

Having thus placed the institution of slavery, upon which rests not only the whole wealth of the Southern people, but their very social and political existence, under the condemnation of a government established for the common benefit, it proposed in the future, to encourage immigration into the public Territory, by giving the public land to immigrant settlers, so as, within a brief time, to bring into the Union free States enough to enable it to abolish slavery within the States themselves.

I have but stated generally the outline and the general programme of the party to which I allude without entering into particular details or endeavoring to specify the various forms of attack, which have been devised and suggested by the leaders of that party upon our institutions.

That this general statement of its purposes, is a truthful

one, no intelligent observer of events will for a moment deny , but the general view and purpose of the party has been sufficiently developed by the President elect.

"It is my opinion," says Mr. Lincoln, "that the slavery agitation will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it to cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all another. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest its further spread and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, North as well as South."

The party thus organized on the principle of hostility to our fundamental institutions, and upon the avowed policy of their destruction, with a candidate thus representing that principle and policy, has succeeded in the Presidential election, by obtaining a large majority of the votes of the people of the non-slaveholding States, and on the 4th of March next, would, unless prevented, have taken possession of the power and patronage of our common government to wield them to our destruction. In contemptuous disregard of the principle on which that government was founded, and received our assent, to insure domestic tranquility, promote the general welfare, and, within the limit of its constitutional power, to exercise a fostering and paternal care over every interest of every section, it was to become our foe and our oppressor, and never to pause in its career of hostility and oppression until our dearest rights, as well as our honor, were crushed beneath its iron heel.

We, the decendants of the leaders of that illustrious race of men who achieved our independence and established our institutions, were to become a degraded and a subject class under that government which our fathers created to secure the equality of all the States—to bend our necks to the yoke which a false fanaticism had prepared for them, to hold our rights and our property at the sufferance of our foes, and to accept whatever they might choose to leave as a free gift at the hands of an irrepressible power, and not as the measure of our constitutional rights.

All this, gentlemen, we were expected to submit to, under the fond illusion that at some future day, when our enemies had us in their power, they would relent in their hostility ;

that fanaticism would pause in its career without having accomplished its purpose ; that the spirit of oppression would be exercised, and, in the hour of its triumph, would drop its weapons from its hands, and cease to wound its victim. We were expected, in the language of your own inspired orator, to "indulge in the fond illusions of hope ; to shut our eyes to the painful truth, and listen to the song of that syren until it transformed us into beasts."

But we in the State of Mississippi are no longer under that illusion. Hope has died in our hearts. It received its death-blow at the fatal ballot-box in November last, and the song of the syren no longer sounds in our ears. We have thought long and maturely upon this subject, and we have made up our minds as to the course we should adopt. We ask no compromise and we want none. We know that we should not get it if we were base enough to desire it, and we have made the irrevocable resolve to take our interests into our own keeping.

I have already said that twelve months since the State of Mississippi, in connexion with other slaveholding States, had taken a position, in anticipation of the result of the recent Presidential election, from which they could not recede if they were base enough to desire it. I shall be pardoned by you, I trust, for adding that an event, of then recent occurrence, which deeply concerned the honor and the dignity of Virginia, exercised a controlling influence in consolidating the Southern mind on this subject. When the exasperation was at the highest, which had been caused by the long and weary struggle which the Southern people had been compelled to make in defence of their institutions, the daring outrage on your soil, to which I allude, was perpetrated.

This State, relying on the faith of constitutional obligations and of those friendly relations which they were created to uphold and maintain, unconscious herself of any sentiment less noble than that of unwavering loyalty to her constitutional obligations, and, therefore, wholly unsuspecting of any treasonable design against her own peace and welfare, was, in a moment of fancied repose, in a time of profound peace, to her own amazement and that of the whole Southern people, made the scene of a foray by a band of conspirators and traitors from the Northern States, whose purpose was, to light up the fires of a servile insurrection, and to give your dwellings to the torch of the incendiary and your wives and children to the knives of assassins. The disgraceful attempt, it is true, ended in ignominious failure.

True that your slaves proved loyal, and by a prompt execution of your laws you vindicated your dignity and exacted from the wretched criminals the just forfeiture of their lives. But the event had, nevertheless, a terrible significance in the minds of the Southern people. It was justly considered as the necessary and logical result of the principles, boldly and recklessly avowed by the sectional party which was then grasping at the reins of government and which is now about to be inaugurated into power.

Let it not be supposed that I refer to this disgraceful event with a desire to stir up a spirit of hostility or revenge, or to re-awaken those sentiments of just indignation which the fact is so well calculated to excite. I refer to it as a necessary and legitimate result of the irrepressible conflict which has been proclaimed, of which the President elect gave a true exposition when he said "There is a judgment and a conscience at the North against slavery, which must find an outlet either through the peaceful channel of the ballot-box or in the multiplication of John Brown raids." I refer to it as a warning to the people of the Southern States, and to you the people of Virginia, of what they and you are to expect in the future when that party, whose principles thus give encouragement, aid and comfort to felons and traitors, shall have firmly established its dominion over you.

These are some of the causes, gentlemen, which have at last convinced the people of Mississippi that the hour has arrived when if the South would maintain her honor, she must take her own destiny into her own hands; but let it not be supposed that they have not always felt a strong attachment to the Union of the Constitution, provided, that instrument could be administered in the spirit in which it was created. That form of Government, on the contrary, is dear to their hearts, and its necessity to them and their posterity has received the sanction of their judgment. Loving it not wisely, but too well, they have clung to it long after its obligations were abandoned by those who were the chief recipients of its benefits, under the fond illusion that a returning sense of justice and a restoration of fraternal relations formerly existing, would secure to them their rights. They long and vainly hoped that the time would again return, when each and every section of the Confederacy would recognize the rights and interests of all, and that we might in harmony with each other have continued to rejoice over what had been achieved of glory and prosperity in the past, and to look forward with united hope to bright the

and glorious prospect which an observance of the principles of the Constitution promised in the future.

Alas, how has that hope been disappointed ; how has that illusion been dispelled !

Could we think that the crisis which is now upon us was but a temporary ebullition of temper in one section of the country, which would in a brief time subside, we might even yet believe that all was not lost, and that we might yet rest securely under the shadow of the Constitution. But the stern truth of history, if we accept its teachings, forbids us such reflections. It is not to be denied that the sentiment of hatred to our institutions in the Northern section of the Confederacy is the slow and mature growth of many years of false teaching, and that as we have receded further and further from the earlier and purer days of the Republic, and from the memory of associated toils and perils in the common cause which once united us, that sentiment of hatred has been fanned from a small spark into a mighty conflagration, whose unextinguishable and devouring flames are reducing our empire into ashes.

Ere yet that generation which achieved our liberty had passed entirely from the scene of action, it manifested itself in the Missouri controversy. Then were heard the first sounds of that fatal strife which has raged, with occasional intermissions, down to this hour. And so ominous was it of future disaster, even in its origin, that it filled even the sedate soul of Mr. Jefferson with alarm; he did not hesitate to pronounce it, even then, as the deathknell of the Union, and in mournful and memorable words to congratulate himself that he should not survive to witness the calamities he predicted. Said he :

“ This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the present, but that is only a reprieve, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once concurred in and held up to the passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper, until it will kindle such mutual and mortal hatred as to render separation preferable to eternal discord.

I regret that I am now to die in the belief that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness for their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of

their sons, and that my only consolation is to be that I live not to weep over it."

But, so far were the northern people from being warned by these sad prophetic words, that at each renewal of the struggle the sentiment of hostility has acquired additional strength and intensity. The passions enlisted in it have become more bitter, the disregard of constitutional obligations more marked, and the purpose to destroy our institutions more fixed and definite.

An infidel fanaticism, crying out for a higher law than that of the Constitution and a holier Bible than that of the Christian, has been enlisted in the strife, and in every form in which the opinions of a people can be fixed and their sentiments perverted, in the school room, the pulpit, on the rostrum, in the lecture-room and in the halls of legislation, hatred and contempt of us and our institutions, and of the Constitution which protects them, have been inculcated upon the present generation of Northern people. Above all, they have been taught to believe that we are a race inferior to them in morality and civilization, and that they are engaged in a holy crusade for our benefit in seeking the destruction of that institution which they consider the chief impediment to our advance, but which we, relying on sacred and profane history for our belief in its morality, believe lies at the very foundation of our social and political fabric and constitutes their surest support.

This, gentlemen, is indeed an irrepressible conflict which we cannot shrink from if we would ; and though the President elect may congratulate himself that the crisis is at hand which he predicted, we, if we are true to ourselves, will make it fruitful of good by ending forever the fatal struggle and placing our institutions beyond the reach of further hostility.

I know not what may be your views of the subject, nor what your purpose in this crisis ; but I have already told you what the people of Mississippi have resolved on, and to that determination, you may rely upon it, they will adhere through every extremity of prosperous or adverse fortune. They, like you, are the descendants of a revolutionary race, which for far less cause raised the banner of resistance against a far mightier power, and never lowered it until that victory which the god of battle gives to brave men in a just cause, had crowned their efforts and established their independence ; and they have, like them, decided that the time has arrived to trust for the safety of their honor and

rights only to their own strong arms and stout hearts rather than submit to placing those priceless blessings in the keeping of their inveterate foes.

I shall enter into no discussion of the right of secession, whether it be peaceful and constitutional or violent and revolutionary. If decided at all that question must, in the nature of things, be decided first by those who would force us back into a Union with them, which we have repudiated, and when they shall have made up their minds on that subject, it will remain for us to join the issue and accept the consequences, be they peaceful or bloody. We shall do all in our power to avoid a hostile collision with those who were once our brothers, though now divided from us by an impassable gulf; we wish them no harm and could our prayers avail them we would freely offer them, that in their future destiny they may have that prosperity, liberty and peace which we intend to seek for ourselves under a new organization. All good men too will pray that that Providence which presides over the destinies of nations and shapes their ends, rough-hew them as they will, will so ordain that the friends of liberty throughout the world may not have cause to mourn over the folly and madness and wickedness of an effort by arms on this continent, to subject a whole people, united in the vindication of their rights, and resolved to die in their defense.

But if it must be so, and we are compelled to take up arms, we trust we shall know how to bear ourselves as free-men engaged in a struggle for their dearest rights. We have learned the lesson how to do so from the history of your own noble Commonwealth, and we shall attempt, at least, to profit by the glorious example.

The conviction of the justice of their cause will be a tower of strength in the hour of battle, and inspire the hearts of the Southern people like the sounds of that divine music, which in the words of the great poet,

"Cheered the hearts of heroes old,
Arming to battle; and instead of rage
Deliberate valor breathed firm and unmoved
By dread of death to fight or foul retreat."

And when that hour comes, we know, too, where Virginia, will stand. Her banner will float proudly "over the perilous edge of battle" wherever it rages, and the blood of her sons will enrich every field where Southern men strike for their rights and their honors.

Having thus stated the action of my State, and the causes which induced it, I should probably best consult the proprieties of the occasion, by adding nothing to what I have said. I trust, however, I shall be pardoned for offering one or two suggestions for your consideration. The fundamental idea which has influenced the action of the seceding States, is the demonstrated necessity that the Southern people should take their interest and their honor into their own keeping, and thus rescue them from the power of an avowedly hostile government. It is not that they are opposed to a union of the Confederate States. Such a form of government is not only dear to their hearts, but its value and necessity to them, and their posterity receives the recognition and approval of their judgment. It is no fault of theirs that the Union, as it recently existed, has ceased to be practicable or desirable. The Southern people may well recur with pride to the history of their connexion with that government. Well may they ask when have they, as States or individuals, proved faithless to the obligations it imposed? In what point have they fallen short of the full measure of duty and comity to their sister States? What indulgence have they not shown to the insulting prejudices and unreasoning fanaticism of the other section? What sacrifices of blood and treasure have they not made in the common cause, and what efforts to bring back the harmony which in the language of one of her most eloquent sons, reigned in those days when Massachusetts summoned Washington to lead the armies of New England, and when Virginia and Carolina sent supplies of corn and rice to their famishing brethren in Boston?

But such a form of government being demonstrated to be impracticable with the Northern people, all that is left us is the creation of a great and powerful Southern Union, composed of States inhabited by homogenous populations, and having a common interest, common sympathies, common hopes, and a common destiny.

This is the inevitable destiny of the Southern people, and this destiny Virginia holds in her hands. By uniting herself to her sisters of the South who are already in the field, she will make that a peaceful revolution which may otherwise be violent and bloody. At the sound of her trumpet in the ranks of the Southern States, "grim visaged war will smooth his wrinkled front," peace and prosperity will again smile upon the country, and we shall hear no more threats of coercion against sovereign States asserting their indepen-

dence. The Southern people, under your lead, will again be united, and liberty, prosperity and power, in happy union, will take up their abode in the great Southern Republic, to which we may safely entrust our destinies. These are the noble gifts which Virginia can again confer on the country, by prompt and decided action at the present.

In conclusion gentlemen, let me renew to you the invitation of my State and people, to unite and co-operate with your Southern sisters who are already in the field, in defense of their rights. We invite you to come out from the house of our enemies, and take a proud position in that of your friends and kindred. Come and be received as an older brother whose counsels will guide our action and whose leadership we will willingly follow. Come and give us the aid of your advice in counsel and your arm in battle, and be assured that when you do come, as we know you will do at no distant day, the signal of your move will send a thrill of joy vibrating through every Southern heart, from the Rio Grande to the Atlantic, and a shout of joyous congratulation will go up which will shake the continent from its centre to its circumference.

[DOCUMENT E.]

JACKSON MISSISSIPPI, January 12th, 1861.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN J. PETTUS,
GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to report to you that acting under the commission, which you conferred upon me as Commissioner from the State of Mississippi to the State of South Carolina, under a resolution adopted at the Extraordinary session of the Legislature of Mississippi of 1860.

I proceeded to the Capitol of South Carolina, where I arrived on the 15th day of December, A. D., 1860, and immediately laid before His Excellency, William Gist, Governor of the State of South Carolina, my credentials as such Commissioner, together with the act passed at the Extraordinary session convoking the sovereignty of Mississippi, and

the resolutions on Federal Relations, and the resolutions authorizing the Executive of Mississippi to appoint Commissioners for the State of Mississippi to the slaveholding States.

Governor Gist reported my arrival to the Legislature of South Carolina, then in session, and a committee of the two houses was appointed to wait upon me, and signify to me that the Legislature was prepared to receive any communication I might desire to make to them, and to extend to me as such Commissioner, the hospitalities of the State. I replied to the committee, returning my thanks for the courtesies and civilities extended through me to the State I had the honor to represent; and said to them that as I was accredited by the terms of my commission "to the authorities of the State of South Carolina, and as the highest authority of the State was to assemble in Convention on the following Monday, I would make my communications to the Convention. The Sovereign Convention of South Carolina met on Monday, the 17th day of December, A. D. 1860, and was organized, by the election of Gen. Jamison as permanent President, and Mr. Arthur as Clerk. My credentials, having been transferred by His Excellency, Governor Pickens, the recently elected governor of South Carolina, to the President of the Convention. A committee was appointed to wait upon the Hon. Mr. Elmore, the Commissioner from Alabama, and myself as Commissioner of Mississippi to South Carolina, and signify to us that the Convention was prepared to receive any communication we might have to make to the authorities of South Carolina, for the respective States we represented.

I endeavored to express in plain and simple terms the attitude of the people of Mississippi, and have the honor to submit herewith my remarks to the Convention of South Carolina, made under and by virtue of the Commission which you did me the honor to confer upon me.

In consequence of a prevailing epidemic at the Capital of the State, the Convention and Legislature adjourned the respective bodies to Charleston. Having been invited to attend the deliberations of the Convention, at the point to which the Convention had adjourned its sittings, I proceeded to Charleston, where on the 20th of December, A. D. 1860, the Ordinance of Secession was reported by Chancellor Inglis, the chairman of the committee of seven, appointed to draft the ordinance, and in an assembly composed of one hundred and seventy members, embracing the high-

est talent of the State, upon the call of the yeas and nays there was not a single absentee, nor a single no, and the unanimity which so happily characterized the proceedings of the Convention, was but a reflex of the unanimity which exists among the people of South Carolina.

I have the honor to be sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES EDWARD HOOKER.

ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Convention of South Carolina:—I have been profoundly gratified at the cordial welcome and the kindly hospitality which has met me in the home of my nativity, and I have been more profoundly gratified when I reflected that it has been visited upon me not so much as a matter of personal compliment, but an indication of that homogeneous disposition of the people, to the strong ties of affinity which bind men of Mississippi to men of Carolina.

Coming to you as the representative of a sister sovereign State, at this most important and critical period of our history, I feel it to be my duty to speak the sentiment of the people whom I represent. I feel it my duty to possess this body with the exact condition of things which exist in Mississippi at this important crisis of our history.

I am deputed to speak the sentiments of the State which I have the honor to represent, by virtue of a resolution which passed both branches of our Legislature without a single dissenting voice, and also to announce that the bill convoking the sovereign people of the State of Mississippi, in Convention, was passed by both branches of our Legislature without a single dissenting voice. Coming, therefore, thus authorized by the Legislature of the State, and speaking the sentiments of the people of Mississippi, I feel authorized to declare it gives me profound gratification to be able to say that, coming back to the home of my nativity, I listened to-day with a proud pleasure to the words of wisdom and patriotism that fell from the lips of the Governor elect, and I am confident that there was not one sentiment in his memorable address to the Legislature which would not have received the sound, hearty plaudits in Mississippi, that it met from the men of Carolina, and I felt that I would have been untrue to my mother and false to the instincts of the soil upon which I was reared, did I not give

a hearty response to every sentiment; and know that I would be equally untrue to the home of my adoption and the sentiment that reigns—that rules the hearts of the people—did I not give, on her part, a cordial approbation to every sentiment that fell from his lips.

I would deem it somewhat inappropriate to the occasion to go into a general discussion of the political ethics of the country—inappropriate, alone, however, because I came simply to speak the sentiments of the people of Mississippi, and convey to you what was the authoritative action in our Legislature; this done my mission will have ended.

But there is a question presented by your very convocation here, and one which, perhaps, has not been understood in most of the Southern and Southwestern States of the confederacy to the extent and depth in which you understand it in South Carolina. I mean the question of how the features of the federal government, or the ties of its existence, are to be changed. There is, however, a great principle underlying all constitutions and governments—the great principle which is enumerated in the very second article of the bill of rights attached to the Constitution of Mississippi and most of the States of the confederacy—to claim that it is the right of the people to alter, to change, to amend, aye, to abolish the form of government whenever to them it shall seem proper. That is the great principle which underlies not only your federal constitution, but which lies at the basis of all your State constitutions—the right of the people, the power of the people, aye, and the duty of the people, to resume the powers of government with which they have entrusted their agents whenever those agents have proven and manifested themselves to be unfaithful in the discharge of the trust. It is a great principle which underlies alike the powers granted to the federal government and the powers granted by the people to State governments, and when it shall fail to be recognized, when it shall fail to be admitted, then the existence of the government is a mere question of its power to perpetuate itself. And, in reference to the federal government, while it exists somewhat under different forms from State governments, it is still dependent upon this great general principle, which we of Mississippi have always contended to belong alike to the federal and state governments. Do we seem to be almost oblivious to the fact, of this great question of the right of the sovereign states of the confederacy, each acting for herself and by herself, and bound only by her own act—do we seem

almost to have been forgetful of the origin of the government itself? This great right of the sovereign parties to the compact, whenever the federal government has departed from the orbit in which the constitution bids it move, in the language of your great statesman, is not a simple right, but it is the duty of the sovereign creators to speak in the language of master, and bid it return again to the orbit in which the constitution has directed it to move.

It is the great principle which underlies the federative government, as well as the great principle which underlies the state constitutions. As under the state constitutions the power of the people at all times exists to resume the authority entrusted to its agents, and to resume its government of the Convention in the mode and manner in which they invested them with it—so the right, the power and the duty exists on the part of the states to resume the authority they have granted to the federal government, whenever that federal government shall seek to pervert it. The two great principles are alike in their application; and what I had occasion to say at home I will repeat here, that if the pen of the historian shall ever record their downfall, not merely in the government, not merely in the Union, but their downfall in the hearts of the people, that act recorded by him will be as much owing to the truculency of the minority in the government as to the aggressive acts of the majority.

We have been taught to think and believe in Mississippi that all governments and especially your federal government are but agencies established by the people to effect certain great purposes and ends, and acting under the strict letter of the constitution, whenever that agent exceeds its authority, and assumes a power never granted, the states must be untrue to themselves if they fail to speak to that government in the language of master. This is our idea in Mississippi of the character of the government. We have been taught to believe, that it originated precisely as your State government originated—by the consent of the people. Your State government, having its origin by the consent of the people, your federal government owes its existence to the consent of the sovereign States that made it, and the same grand principle underlies them both, only in different degrees. In reference to a State government, the consent of the governed gives power to the Governor. The Governor does not become the people, but their agent; and so in the federal government this power exists by the consent of the sovereign States who framed it. Aye, in the language of

the noted Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, "the States are the breath of its nostrils, and have the power to put an end to it to-morrow by a bare refusal to elect Senators and Representatives." I have thus stated these two propositions—one of which pertains to State governments, and the other to the federal government—in order to show that when we adopted the existing constitution—when the States met in solemn convocation in Philadelphia, in 1787, and framed the constitution, they acted by States, they voted by States, and they voted clause by clause that constitution into power; but when that Convention had met, acted and adjourned, the Constitution of the United States was an idle piece of parchment, devoid of life and vitality. It required the sovereign masters of that Convention—the separate States—to breathe into it its vitality and power of existence. Hence it was that the ninth article of the Constitution is known as the Ratification article. It required nine of the eleven States of the Union to adopt that Constitution. With all the wisdom and patriotism that reigned and ruled in that Convention, when Washington, Madison, the Rutledges, and all the great men of power in the days of the Revolution, lived—even after they had performed their duties, and favored the existence of the present constitutional government, it was referred back to the sovereign States, each to act for herself and to be bound alone by her own act.—When it was referred to the people of South Carolina they had a right, if in their judgment they thought proper, so far as they were concerned, to have defeated its adoption, because, by the article of ratification, that constitution was a compact only between the States ratifying the same. Thus you see it was in the power of four of the smallest States of the confederacy, with a population of something less than three hundred thousand, absolutely to have defeated the object of the constitution itself. And then, too, by this article of ratification, no State that did ratify it possessed the power to ratify it for any other State, but only to ratify it as to herself; and hence it was that Virginia, New York, Rhode Island, and various other States of the confederacy, in their articles of ratification, declared that whenever the power of the government should be perverted to the destruction of the liberties of the people of the State, they had the right and authority, and the duty devolved upon them, to resume these bonds. This being then the character of the government, the question arises whether or not the exigency has arisen which requires that the sovereign States of the con-

federacy who made the federal government by their sovereign act, ought to resume to themselves the power, authority and duty, with which they have invested the federal Union.

And while I refer to the existing state of things in speaking to you, I may speak somewhat in advisory terms, but not intentionally upon my part ; and should I do so, it is only because I believe, aye, I may say I know, that the interest and welfare, and destiny and fate of South Carolina, is the interest, welfare, destiny and fate of Mississippi. The question arises simply as to whether or not the exigency has arisen which makes it the duty of the sovereign States of this confederacy to resume the powers with which they entrusted the federal government. I hope that it is unnecessary in speaking to Carolina to say, if she has the right to form the government, she has also the right to change it, and then your government exists alone to the extent and capacity and power which it possesses to make itself perpetual. In other words, the authority with which you have invested the federal government is not subject to resumption, and if that federal government, whether acting through its legislative, executive or judicial departments, possesses the power to determine your existence in it, then you have no more authority to reverse that government, or annul it, than have the serfs of Russia to change the form of government under which they live. If the authority and right does exist under the rights of the States to resume the powers with which they entrusted the federal government, whether acting as one, two or three States, then they have the ability to resist the act by all the means in their power.

We have thought, in Mississippi, that in all probability the great principle that all government is based upon the consent of the people, would be recognized by the federal authority ; and that no body of men, in any State, would be found who would question it. On that we may be mistaken. It is barely possible that the federal government as now constituted, or as it will be constituted on the 4th of March next, will forget the great fact that it is based upon the sovereign States who made it, that it owes its origin and daily existence to the voluntary act of those States remaining in the Union. They may object, but in the language of your distinguished Governor elect to-day, "we must remember that this government was created principally for the conduct of our foreign relations—principally to give strength to us abroad, and in order to constitute us a power

on the earth." Now, what has been the history of the federal government for the last three years? Has it been an effort to give to the people of the United States, as a people homogeneous, a like political interest, and social welfare and elevated position on the page of history? No, my countrymen; it has been a disgraceful squabble on the floors of the national Legislature to make one portion of this people of despotic power a controlling element in the government, in order to oppress the other portion. I have been told that the history of the Union was a national history, around which, in spite of the opposition to it, clung the warmest affections of our people; and I have begged leave to remind the friends who made the suggestion to me, that, in the Declaration of Independence, our fathers saw fit to declare, not that the people of the United States, but that these colonies are and ought to be free and independent States. The history of the Revolution shows nothing more than that they established the great doctrine of mutual independence.—They never intended that State lines should be obliterated; and when the mind of New England, with a great constitutional lawyer, a man of lofty and proud intellect and enormous power, stood in the Congress of the United States contending for this as a government operating upon the people of a State—we say it with respect—he stood there as a partizan warrior advocating the interest of his client; and a great statesman of the West, he whose name indeed has become national, and whose fame belongs to the country at large, when he stood in the Congress of the United States claiming the authority of the Constitution of the United States, and arguing the powers of the government to inaugurate and enforce it, he stood there as a great popular orator, but also as a partizan lawyer, defending the case of his client. But when your own immortal statesman, who spoke not for the glory, aye no, and not for the generation, but who spoke for all time to come, who spoke *ex cathedra*, because he spoke the truth, the simple truth—when your own great Calhoun was heard, he established, at least in the hearts of the people of Carolina and her sister States the great principle that this was a government based upon the consent of the people, and that the federal government is but the agent of the States, and could not exist a day without them.

I have thus approached the view which we of Mississippi take of this question, and while it is true in Mississippi we had not the unanimity enjoyed in South Carolina, yet, since

the election of Lincoln, all party lines in Mississippi have been obliterated—and the people stand as a mass, without reference to the distinctions which have hitherto divided them. Men, for instance, known as opposition, now stand side by side by the candidates for the Convention who are known to be for States rights. That is owing in a large measure to the fact that our population is infused in a greater or less degree with men of the old State of South Carolina. I am happy to announce that we have no parties in Mississippi. And that in the town in which I live, the Capital of the State, when we heard of your action, and when the day before I left home I attended a Convention in my own county, I announced to them the fact that there was entire unanimity throughout your State, a solid phalanx demanding the right and the authority to resume the powers entrusted to the federal government—when I made that announcement to the people of the county in which I live, not one, not two, not a dozen, but every man in the vast audience to which I spoke, arose as one man and proclaimed that he would stand by South Carolina, by her vote, for weal or for woe.

I have alluded somewhat incidentally, but perhaps it is my duty to refer more particularly, to the action of the Legislature of the State of Mississippi. I have the pleasure of announcing to you that when the Convention bill was proposed in the House of Representatives, it was referred to a special committee for consideration, reported to the House, and adopted without debate, quietly and silently, and with that resolute determination and fixed duty of purpose which indicate that men have passed the period of discussion and debate. The other branch of the Legislature—the Senate—also adopted the measure without a dissenting voice.—When it was proposed that the Legislature should authorize the executive of the State to send Commissioners to other States, soliciting their co-operation in the position which Mississippi has taken, that resolution was also passed without a single dissenting voice.

The resolutions on federal relations, as we admirably term them in Mississippi, were introduced not by an old States rights man, but one regarded as with the opposition, and without whom we were not certain, even in Mississippi, of success. I will not weary you by reading the long preamble to these resolutions, for it was struck out and the simple resolutions stand by themselves. I do not mean to state that every man in the State is pledged to it, because

there are some who have said, "we are with you, we are Minute Men with you, and stand by you ready when summoned to aid the Southern States. Take the advance movement and we will be there as readily as you States rights or secession men, but we believe it will be a war of revolution instead of a peaceful resumption by a sovereign State of the powers invested in the general government." We have told them, "we have no quarrel with your motives; we will not ask you to assign a reason. We know you to be wrong in regard to the reasons which animate you, but still we know that in the final hour, in the day of trial, you will stand heart to heart, shoulder to shoulder, hand to hand with us." The resolutions were passed by the Legislature by an overwhelming majority, but not with the entire unanimity of the Convention bill, or the resolution authorizing the Executive to appoint commissioners to the various States, but still with a majority so overwhelming that, although division was called for, but a few feeble voices, here and there, dissented to it. I will read the resolution to which I refer:

Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That in the opinion of those who now constitute the State Legislature, the secession of each aggrieved State is the proper remedy for these injuries.

This was not an idle resolution—it was not one adopted without calmness and forethought, reflection and deliberation. The people I have the honor to represent are not in a passion upon this question, but have acted considerately, resolutely and in a determined form. There is no excitement upon this question amongst my people. The principle of that resolution, declaring that the appropriate and proper remedy is the separate secession of each aggrieved State, is the principle which will be found the ruling and the controlling element in the Convention which will meet on the 7th of January next. And while there may be—while there doubtless will be, some few dissenting voices—for, as I have said heretofore, we have not the pleasure of having that unanimity you have—even the opposition party of Mississippi, the frankest man of that party, the man of the most formidable intellect and most tremendous power—a man I know and respect as a citizen, but differ from in politics—has not hesitated to declare, and in print as well as by speech, that the election of Mr. Lincoln even he regarded as an open declaration of war on the part of the Northern people. I present this in order to properly explain the attitude of even the op-

position men in Mississippi. Even they feel that the emergency or exigency has arisen which imperiously requires her, in her sovereign capacity, to resume the authority entrusted to the federal government.

We have been anxious to secure co-operation in every Southern slaveholding State.

It was recommended by our Governor, in a message sent to our Legislature, that a bill be revived which formerly stood on the statute books of Mississippi, interdicting the introduction of slaves from border slave States. We felt that it was the true policy at this time, in this emergency, and under the circumstances in which we are placed, to do aught which indicated the slightest distrust of any slave State of the confederacy; and therefore, that portion of the message was not favorably acted upon by the Legislature. We earnestly desired co-operation; yet we have not thought of obtaining it. Even the opposition party have said that while they demanded that this co-operation should be invited, it did not follow that they should refuse to act.—The argument advanced is simple, and is intended to give out that we do not intend to attach ourselves to anybody who are not assimilated to ourselves. As a simple act of courtesy to the other slave States, the Executive has appointed, or will appoint, delegates to all these States, simply soliciting action, but not to feel that Mississippi is bound by any refusal to act. Acting upon a principle which was inaugurated in Mississippi years ago, that, profound as is our respect, deep and abiding as is our love for that State which has ever stood in the first rank in defending the liberties of the country, even South Carolina could not control Mississippi. In other words, she claims for herself the right to act upon this matter as you claim for yourselves the right to act. We learned the lesson from you, gentlemen, that it is not only the right, but the solemn duty of each State, now that a Northern sectional majority has, or will have control of the government, to declare for secession. Why longer continue in this government? May I not say, in the language of an eloquent Virginian, "Why stand you here idle?" We stand here to-day on the face of the earth, with all the financial embarrassments which surround us, the sole and single people who have, by their social system, explained the relation between capital and labor. Why, at the North and in England there is a constant warfare. The simple question, then, as I said before, gentlemen of the Convention, is as to whether or not you will resume the powers

with which you have invested the Federal Government. We had hoped, in Mississippi, that we would be able to take action with you simultaneously. We had hoped that we should hear a voice coming from the land of flowers, and the prairies of Texas, and from the banks of the great Father of Waters where it washes the shores of Louisiana and Mississippi, and from Georgia and Alabama, all at the same time; but circumstances having convoked your Convention at a period somewhat prior to that at which the Conventions of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi were to act, the question is presented whether or not South Carolina should declare her own separate independence. Upon this subject, gentlemen, I have modestly made my suggestions to some gentlemen of the Convention. At one time I thought it might be politic and proper that the States should all act together, but since my arrival I doubt whether the postponement of the question would not have a tendency to throw a damper upon the South and the Southwest.

I believe that the people of South Carolina will snatch her star from the galaxy in which it has hitherto mingled and plant her flag earliest in the breach of the battle, sustaining revolution by the bold hearts and willing arms of her people. Should the government forget its origin; forget that it is based upon the consent of the sovereign States, and appeal to force; the first Federal gun fired at the bosom of the mother will boom across the continent and bring back to her defense the willing hearts and ready arms of a thousand true sons—and side by side along with them will come hundreds whose footsteps never pressed your soil, but whose hearts are deeply imbued with the great living principle of government which owes its origin to the soil of South Carolina.

[DOCUMENT F.]

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, January 12th, 1860.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY J. J. PETTUS,

GOVERNOR, &c.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that in pursuance of my appointment as Commissioner to Tennessee, I arrived at the Capitol of that State on the 5th inst., and proceeded at once to lay before His Excellency, Governor

Harris, the evidences of, and enter upon the duties assigned to me in my appointment. The Legislature assembled in extraordinary session on the 7th inst. On the following day Governor Harris sent in a special message, accompanied by my credentials, and informing the body that I was ready to communicate with them. Thereupon a resolution was passed by the two Houses inviting me to meet and address them in joint convention. That duty I performed, and herewith present to your Excellency a copy of the Address I delivered on the occasion. I am gratified in being able to state that there is a growing patriotic sentiment in favor of the stand assumed by the seceding States in resistance to the domination of a sectional majority which is about to assume the reins of government over the States which may consent to remain in the Union.

I cannot doubt that the gallant and chivalrous State of Tennessee will consider that honor and duty alike require that she shall cast her lot with the States which have, and will renounce allegiance to a Government no longer willing, if indeed able, to afford that protection to the interests and institutions of the South which of right belong to them.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

T. J. WHARTON.

ADDRESS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of Tennessee:—Returning to my native State, after many years residence abroad, I am profoundly grateful for the cordial reception extended to me by His Excellency, the Governor, and the assembled Representatives of the people.

I know, however, and am proud to acknowledge that the compliment is not intended for me personally, but for the State which I have the honor to represent on this occasion. In her name, and by her authority, I come to commune with you in reference to the fearful political crisis which has befallen our common country, in the hope that the co-operation of Tennessee may be secured in the effort to preserve the rights, the honor and independence of the slaveholding States of this Confederacy.

I am charged, in the language of my commission, to inform your honorable body, and the people of the State you represent, that the Legislature of Mississippi has passed an act calling a Convention of the people of the State to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the Confederacy, aggravated by the recent election of a President upon principles of hostility to the State of the South, and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi that Tennessee will co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defense and safety of the States thus threatened. That Convention assembled on the 7th inst., and is now in session deliberating upon the action contemplated by the Legislature in the act which called it into being.

I am charged also to present certain resolutions adopted, almost without a dissenting voice, enumerating the grievances of which they complain, and prescribing the remedy for the same. Each of the measures thus adopted has received the sanction of the people, in an election held on the 20th ult.

A popular majority of not less than 18,000, and a majority in the Convention of from 60 to 70, have cordially endorsed the action of the Legislature in the premises.

Notwithstanding the differences of opinion that exist amongst us as to the character of the remedy proposed, there is but one sentiment as to the necessity of prompt and efficient action. That unanimity of sentiment prevailed even before the recent startling events which have occurred in South Carolina. Probably there is not in the State a man who does not feel that the argument is exhausted; that it is in vain longer to remind the dominant majority of the North of their repeated violations of the Constitutional rights of the South, of the consideration upon which the South acquiesced in the compromise measures of 1850-51, which at the time convulsed and so nearly dissolved the Union.

The most distinguished leaders of the party opposed to the immediate and separate secession of the State, unhesitatingly denounced the election of Mr. Lincoln as a declaration of war against the Southern States, and indignantly repelled the thought of submitting to it.

Indeed, they pointed to the necessity of a Southern Confederacy, and only sought the co-operation of Southern States, and to secure that recommended that a Convention of such States should be held.

Her sovereign voice can only be inferred from the known and declared sentiments of the delegates who have been elected. In a few days, if not ere this, the Convention will give expression to it in the most solemn and authoritative form. When that has been done it will be the command of the sovereign, which, like the fiat of the Omnipotent, challenges the obedience of every citizen.

That obedience will be rendered, not grudgingly, but with alacrity. Already the public mind is expecting it, and is prepared for it.

Forgetting all past political dissensions, her sons will gather round her standard, and vieing with each other in demonstrations of loyalty and affection, there swear eternal fidelity to her sacred cause.

Without repeating the almost innumerable instances in which the anti-slavery sentiment of the North has invaded the constitutional rights of the people of the South, many of which are set forth in the preamble to the resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Mississippi, I may say its aggressive spirit has culminated in the recent Presidential election.

The election of a sectional candidate, by a dominant sectional majority, on a platform of hostility to the constitutional rights of the people of fifteen sovereign States, was an event which never entered the minds of the framers of the Constitution. Like parricide amongst the Grecians—there was no law to punish it, as they supposed no child could be so unnatural as to murder his parent. So, the sages who framed the Magna Charta of our liberties, never imagined that the time would come when it would be possible, in a Government of equal, confederated, sister sovereigns, that a majority organized upon principles of deadly hostility to the domestic institution of the minority, would obtain the ascendancy.

The cardinal principles upon which the theory of government rests which they inaugurated was the absolute equality of the States, in all political rights and privileges.

To establish that principle, the battle of the Revolution were fought. It was worth all the blood and treasure, privations and suffering it cost. When it has been surrendered, nothing accomplished by the Revolution worth preserving will remain. Mississippi has determined to cling to it, "as the mariner clings to the last plank, when night and the tempest have gathered around him."

It is not the mere election of Lincoln—insulting as that of itself would be, in view of the offensive sentiments he has uttered, and is known to entertain—which has awakened that tornado of popular indignation which is now sweeping over the South. It is not the mere platform upon which he was nominated—infamous as that is to the Southern man—but it is the determined, aggressive spirit of Abolition, underlying and sustaining the party which has secured his triumph and the overthrow of the Constitution. It is the unappeasable hatred which that party cherishes, and has ever cherished, for slavery and the slaveholder, that proclaims to us that there is an “irrepressible conflict” between them and us. It is that the Chair of State, once occupied by Washington, is to be desecrated by the chief of a party which has risen upon the principle of denying to the citizens of fifteen sovereign States that equality of rights secured to them in the common property of all the States. It is that an institution existing at the formation of the Constitution, and now the foundation of the wealth, prosperity and happiness of twelve millions of people, is to be outlawed, and the moral sentiment of the world invoked to make it, and those who tolerate it, hateful. It is that the President elect owes his triumph to such a party, that he has pandered to such a sentiment, and that the Government is to be administered for such a purpose, that the State of Mississippi has resolved—whatever may be the issue—fearlessly to appeal to the God of battles, the justice of her cause, and the arbitrament of mankind. Come what may, though it should cost every drop of blood and every cent. of property, she will never submit to the domination of such a party and of such a chief.

In that appeal, she invokes no sympathy or compassion. She has fully counted the cost of resistance. She has not rashly taken her position. A necessity too stern and imperious to be disregarded, demands that she should assume the guardianship of her own rights and honor. She will never consent that either shall be under the control of a government hostile to her and hers. She ardently desires the co-operation of her sisters, having a common interest and destiny. She defies and despises the malice of her foes. She has sent commissioners to all the slaveholding States to invite their co-operation in defense of common rights against a common enemy. She bids me, as her representative, say to her chivalrous sister, Tennessee, that she has too often illustrated her heroism in arms, and her wisdom in council,

to doubt that, as upon the deathless plains of Chalmette and at the storming of Monterey they stood shoulder to shoulder, they will be separated now when the holiest cause that ever inspired the human heart, summons them to the conflict.

Mississippi know and appreciates the loyalty to the Union which has ever distinguished her sister. The sentiment has an abiding place in her own bosom. To it she is ready to sacrifice everything which a proud sovereign State may or dare sacrifice of ease, comfort or convenience. Her *honor and constitutional rights* she may not, dare not surrender. For the honor of the National Government, she has sacrificed hecatombs of her best sons. To vindicate her own honor she is ready to sacrifice her last son, and herself disappear from the map of nations. She bids me say that "she loves and cherishes the Union; that she remembers, with the kindest feelings, our common origin, with pride our common achievements, and has fondly anticipated the common greatness and glory which has seemed to await us; but that origin, achievements and anticipation of coming greatness, are to us as nothing compared to this question; that it is to us a vital question; that it involves not only our liberty, but what is greater (if to freemen anything can be) existence itself." So, viewing it, and despairing of a returning sense of justice with her haughty and victorious foe, she has determined to welcome death rather than submission. She considers a dissolution of the Union a great, though not the greatest calamity. In the language of her own warrior statesman, the fearless, the chivalrous Davis, "She would cling tenaciously to our constitutional Government, seeing as she does, in the fraternal union of equal States, the benefit to all, and the fulfillment of that high destiny which our fathers hoped for and left it for their sons to attain. She has seen the national flag surrounded by the flags of foreign countries and the pulsations of her heart have beat quicker with every breeze which displayed its honored stripes and brilliant constellation. She has looked with veneration on those stripes, as recording the original size of our political family, and with pride upon that constellation, as marking the family's growth. She glories in the position her own star holds in the group, but sooner than see its lustre dimmed; sooner than see it degraded from its present equality, she would tear it from its place, to be set even on the perilous ridge of battle, as a sign round which her bravest and best should gather to the harvest home of death."

What has transpired since the election to encourage the

hope that the dangers apprehended from the triumph of the Black Republican party are disappearing or diminishing? Whilst prayers and supplications are going up from the hearts of patriots that He who stilleth the tempest and rules in the armies of men, would disperse the dark storm-cloud which overshadows the land; whilst the silent watches of the night have attested the zeal of venerated statesmen to concert measures to preserve alike the Union of the States and the rights of the South, what indication have our enemies given of a willingness on their part to recede from the position which has caused all the danger? Go to their organs—of the public press—and to their speakers on the floor of Congress, and catch the haughty contempt with which they treat a suggestion that their platform shall be modified, or the offensive State enactments of which we complain, repealed. They are themselves ready to denounce their chosen chief as a traitor, if in the policy upon which he shall administer the Government, he fail to carry out the platform on which he was nominated, or should, for a moment, yield to the “insolent demands of a hateful slave oligarchy.” Catch the exultant note with which they hailed his election, as the final overthrow of slavery. Hear the swelling chorus borne on every breeze to every land proclaiming the first triumph of the party which should, at no distant day, inaugurate the reign of equality of all races and colors, and the universality of the elective franchise. Look at their President elect, whose silence since his election, and during the canvass, has been as profound as it is ominous. Read his last *deliverances* to the public ear. As late as the 16th of April, 1859, he said: “This is a world of compensation, and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and under a just God cannot long retain it.” But once during the canvass was his voice heard, which was when he spoke at his own door to his neighbors and friends. At Springfield, the last of July, or early in August, he was put forward very unexpectedly, and spoke with less than his accustomed caution. He said: “My friends you will fight for this cause four years hence, as you now fight for it, though I may be dead and gone.”

Commenting upon this speech a distinguished son of Pennsylvania, loyal to the constitution as a compact between the States, said: “There is, then, to be no repose, no settlement, no finality under his administration. The ‘fight’ is to go on—nay, it is be stronger then than now. Not content with

victory of the compact North over the stricken and insulted South, the arms are not to be laid aside—the array is not to be broken—peace and conciliation are not even hinted. Domestic slavery, driven by a triumphant Executive and Congressional majority from the Territories, is to be beleaguered in the States. It is to exist by sufferance—it is to be destroyed by compression, and the varnished, plausible and deceptive Republicanism of 1860 is to become the aggressive Abolition of 1864. So says Mr. Lincoln, if his language has any meaning.

In order that you may see what will be the policy of his administration, I state Mr. Lincoln's position in his own words. He says :

"It is my opinion, it (the slavery agitation) will not cease, until a crisis has been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall. But I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course to ultimate extinction ; or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States old as well as new, North as well as South.

Again he says :

"I embrace with pleasure the opportunity of declaring *my disapprobation* of that clause of the Constitution which denies a portion of the colored people the right of suffrage."

"True Democracy makes no inquiry about the color of the skin, or place of nativity, or any other circumstance or condition. I regard, therefore, the *exclusion* of the colored people, as a body, from the elective franchise, as *incompatible* with true Democratic principles."

And yet again, with still greater emphasis, and explicitness :

"That no man is good enough to govern another man *without the other's consent*. I say this is the leading principle—the SHEET ANCHOR of *American Republicanism*.
* * * * * * *

The *master* not only governs the *slave* without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed AN EQUAL FORCE IN THE GOVERNMENT, and that, and that only, is self-government.

I advert to these extracts to show how vain and delusive the hope that a remorseless fanaticism, which has fastened its fangs in the vitals of the Constitution, will, in the flush of triumphs, stay its hand from further and yet haughtier demands. Never, in the history of nations, has such a spirit paused or taken a step backward. It is unappeasable. It shows no quarter. It takes no prisoners. It wages a war of extermination, more relentless than a war of races or of castes. It must be met with brave hearts and stout arms, and crushed out, or its desolating sweep over organized Governments will be more fearful than the unchained winds which rend forests and scatter fleets. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, when this voracious demon was in its swaddling clothes, and the nurses in charge made their first requisition upon Congress in the shape of Abolition Petitions, Mr. Calhoun raised his prophetic voice in words of wisdom and warning, which, if heeded, would have arrested the terrible catastrophe now imminent and unavoidable. He then declared that aggression should not be met by concession; that those who acted upon the principle that it should, were prepared to become slaves; that if an inch was conceded, concession would follow concession, compromise would follow compromise, until our ranks would be so broken that effectual resistance would be impossible. He counselled that the enemy should be met on the frontier with a fixed determination to maintain our position at every hazard. Tracing the subsequent history and career of that spirit of aggression which had seized the Northern mind, he undertook to predict that however sound the great body of the non-slaveholding States then were, that in the course of a few years they would be succeeded by those who will have been taught to hate the people and institutions of nearly one-half of this Union, with a hatred more deadly than one hostile nation ever entertained towards another. He said it was easy to see the end. By the necessary course of events, if left to themselves, we must become, finally, two people. It is impossible, under the deadly hatred which must spring up between the two great sections, if the present causes are permitted to operate unchecked, that we should continue under the same political system. The conflicting elements would burst the Union asunder, as powerful as are the links which hold it together. Abolition and the Union cannot co-exist. As the friend of the Union, I openly proclaim it, and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time, it will be beyond the

power of man to arrest the course of events. We of the South will not, cannot surrender our institutions. The subversion of them will drench the country in blood, and extirpate one or other of the races. I quote his words, and as I repeat them who is not struck with the inspiration of his utterance, and the fulfillment of his prediction? What heart does not send up the prayer, "I would his counsels and warnings had been heeded." But they were regarded at the time as the sickly abstractions of a dreamer and metaphysician.

Men, in their impotence to reach the height of this great argument, not gifted with his far reaching sagacity, adopted the opposite policy. "Others, for a while, seemed struggling 'neath their arguments, he, from above, descending stooped to touch the loftiest thought."

I have purposely avoided a discussion of the remedy proposed in the resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Mississippi. I know full well the sentiment which has long prevailed in Tennessee on that subject. I could not hope to change it, and I would not be understood as presuming to dictate. Besides, practical results are more to be desired than discussions of abstract propositions. It will make no difference as to the form of the remedy, or the name by which it is called, if we are animated by the same determined purpose, to maintain the rights of the South at whatever hazard or cost. We may find ourselves borne along by the current of events, and forced to defend what we might be unwilling to aid in producing.

My first and great concern, the chief object indeed of my mission, is to know that Tennessee, like Mississippi, will bear all, brave all, but never submit to be ruled over by a Black Republican Administration. Events are crowding upon each other with startling rapidity. The Rubicon is already passed. *Nulla retrorsum vestigia*, is inscribed upon every shield and every helmet. South Carolina—aptly denominated the Harry Percy of the Union—has flung to the wild winds free her banner of State independence, and back from the Spirit land comes the cheering war cry which nerved the arms and hearts of her Sumpters and Marions, her Pickens and Rutledges, now echoing in tones of thunder in the ears of their descendants—

"Strike, till the last armed foe expires,
Strike for your altars and your fires,
Strike for the green graves of your sires—
God and your native land."

Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, will catch the swelling refrain, and high above the croaking voice of submission, they will pledge hearts and hands to South Carolina—together march to victory and independence, or when the “last torch of liberty shall burn, then sleep the night of death.” Aye, and Tennessee will enter the grand carnival—not with slow and measured tread, but with all her banners waving and ready to charge with all her chivalry. Before I could doubt it, I should have to obliterate the brightest pages of my country’s history—ignore the undying laurels with which fame decked the brow of the immortal Jackson, on the plains of Chalmette and the more recent, but undying harvest of glory which were gathered by her sons amidst the storming of Monterey. If such a doubt were forced upon my mind—as a native of the State—I would throw myself upon her bosom, and in the language of another, I would exclaim: Oh Earth, Earth, Earth! as did the Hebrew Prophet when wearied out with the perversity of his countrymen, he turned to his native soil and adjured that, to see if he could not arouse within it some answering spirit. If such an appeal was made to the soil of Tennessee in such a case, it seems to me that the very genius of the place would spring forth, and trumpet-tongued, sound the call, which from the topmost height of her mountains to the depths of her valleys would summon her sons to the rescue.

That something must be done, and speedily done, aye, before the reins of Government shall pass into the hands of our haughty and insolent foes, the tamest submissionists admit. Yielding to the sentiment of resistance, which swells up from the great popular heart of the South, her statesmen and patriots—men of wisdom and prudence, who “hold the helm when passion blows the gale,” have exhausted every effort to restore peace to a distracted country.

Their very prayers and supplications on behalf of the Constitution, and the co-equal rights of the States have been insulted and derided by our enemies whether addressed to a throne of grace or to their own adamant hearts. If appeals are made to their sense of patriotism—if they are reminded of a common ancestry and a common revolutionary struggle, of the purer days of the Republic, when Washington and Adams, Jefferson and Hancock, and their illustrious compeers, met at the same shrine and presented their offerings on the same altar, with pharasaic piety they

turn away disdaining fellowship with slavery, and slaveholders. When reminded of their breaches of faith in the observance of solemn covenants and violations of plain provisions of the Constitution, and exhorted not to drive us to extremities in the defence of our rights, our exhortations are denounced as threats. A paper wielding, perhaps, a wider influence over Northern sentiment than any other, and which, from the part taken by its editor in securing his nomination, may be presumed to express the feelings of Mr. Lincoln, and the party of which it is the accredited organ—the New York Tribune) repels with ridicule all such appeals. The only answer made to the South is to justify all that has been said and done by the party. It protests that they have elected a President by honest legal votes, on the largest poll ever known, and after the most heated canvass ever had in the country—that they have done just exactly what they had a right to do, what they ought to have done, and what should have given peace and prosperity to the Union, and that all the distress and danger now existing spring from the fact that the factions they have fairly beaten, insist that they shall repudiate their principles and surrender the just fruits of their triumph, or that they will break up the Union. It hails with acclamations of rejoicing the failure of the committees of Congress to devise any plan of adjustment. It throws back upon the South the responsibility for all the dangers which exist, and denounces it for treason and disunion.

Why talk to such people about new guarantees, amendments of the Constitution, &c.? In the first place, we know how they would be met; crimination and ridicule are the reply they make; denying that the evils complained of exist—but, if they do, that they are of our own creation. In the second place, what reason have we to suppose, if our demands were accepted, that the amendments and new guarantees would be more faithfully observed than the plain provisions of the Constitution and the Fugitive Slave Law have been.

They have been educated, for the last forty years, in the nurseries, in the Sunday schools, from the pulpit, at the bar, in the legislative halls, and from the hustings, to loathe slavery and the defenders of it. This has all to be undone. It is impossible to eradicate the sentiment from the minds and hearts of the present generation. With the masses, the sentiment has been engendered by religious fanaticism, and by appeals to their prejudices. They have been taught

that slaveholders disdain labor, and look with contempt upon the laboring classes, regarding them alike, whether white or black, as an inferior caste in society. With the leaders, it originates in a contest for political supremacy, and a jealousy of the influence which the South has exercised by her wisdom in council and her heroism in arms.

Of what avail would all the constitutional compacts in the world be when coming in contact with a sentiment such as that imbedded in the hearts of the people? All laws depend for their efficacy and enforcement upon the consent and loyalty of those who administer them, and those for whose government they were intended.

Such being, then, the sentiment and feelings of the party which will be charged with the administration of the Government after the 4th of March, what safety or protection will there be for Southern men and property, seeing that new guarantees cannot be obtained, and if they could be, would never be observed.

Slavery, of all property in the world, most needs the protection of a friendly government. As well commit the lamb to the protection of the wolf, as slavery to the protection of a Government hostile to it.

Besides, all these propositions involve delay, and delay now is fatal. It is not wonderful, indeed it is most natural, that up to this time we should have held back—that we should have tried to keep others back until the wisest and most prudent counsels had calmly surveyed the whole field, and had failed to discover a remedy for the disorders prevailing. That much deliberation was due to the sacred trust committed to us, and to the cause of human liberty throughout the world. But events of the past few days admonish us that but little time remains for deliberation and decision. Some may deplore the course of South Carolina as precipitate and ill-advised—others may regard it as unjust to her sisters, having an equal interest and a common destiny with her—others again, may hail it as the magic wand which shall extract the forked lightning from the storm cloud and convey it harmless to the earth, or, as “a bright Iris o’er the boiling surge.” Whatever may be the view taken of it, whether approved or condemned, her lone star has been unfurled and proudly courts the breeze. Mississippi has sent her word of cheering. “On ye brave, who rush to glory or the grave. Wave, South Carolina, wave, all thy banners wave, and charge with all thy chivalry.” God grant that Tennessee, the synonym of patriot-

ism and dauntless heroism, true to her own high instincts, her historic renown, and the fame of her illustrious chief-tain, who has rendered her own and his name immortal, may also arm to the teeth and resolve to the death in defence of her gallant sister, the Queen of the Atlantic!

What said the illustrious ex-President Fillmore in his speech at Albany, in 1855, when contemplating the very event which has occurred—the election of a sectional President—and which, though not the cause, is the occasion of the wide-spread excitement at the South: “can they,” (referring to the people of the North,) “have the madness, or the folly, to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate? Suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would have only slaveholders for President and Vice-President, and should elect such by their suffrages to rule over us at the North, do you think you would submit? No, not for a moment. Do you believe that your Southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights? If you do, let me tell you you are mistaken; and therefore you must see that if this sectional party succeeds, it leads inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our forefathers.” Again, in his speech at Rochester, the same season, referring to the same event, he said: “the success of such a party with such an object, must be a dissolution of the Union.”

What said the Hon. Mr. Vallandigham, member of Congress from Ohio? “I tell you, as a Western man, and I tell the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Nelson,) that when you of the South shall have attained the numerical power and strength in this Union, and shall organize a Southern party on a Southern basis, and, under the forms of the Constitution, shall elect a Southern President, for the purpose of controlling the vast power and patronage and influence of the Government by action, or non-action, for the advancement of Southern interests; and above all, for the purpose of extending slavery into States now free, I will meet you as the Irish patriot would have met the invaders of Ireland—with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other; dispute every inch of ground—burn every blade of grass, till the last intrenchment of independence shall be my grave. I will not wait for an overt act. What! Do I not know that fire will burn; that frost will congeal; that steel and poison will do their work of destruction to

the human system; and shall I await the slow process of experiment to ascertain their rational and inevitable effects?" This was spoken in answer to the question whether the South would be justified in resisting the election of a Northern sectional candidate on a sectional platform.

I quote a passage from a single other Northern statesman, (Hon. Caleb Cushing,) on the same point. After arguing to them the practical result of the election of such a candidate, he says: "I repeat, confidently, if Mr. Lincoln is elected, the Republicans will have to break up at once, or attack the domestic rights of the South. What, then, will the people of the Southern States, attacked in their constitutional rights, their domestic peace, their property, and their persons do? What will they do? Will they passively submit to be conquered subjects of New England? No. I do not hope, believe or doubt what they will do. I know they will defend themselves to the uttermost—first with constitutional means, in fine, with all the means of defence which God and nature have committed to them; and if they were not to do it, they would be recreant to the blood of Washington, of Henry, of Carroll, of Rutledge; they would be unworthy of the name of American."

The issue is made. We could not avoid it if we would. We fearlessly appeal to God, to our consciences, and to the enlightened opinion of mankind to vindicate our course. If war result, the responsibility will not be upon us, but upon those who are intent upon the overthrow of our constitutional rights. If we must pass the dread ordeal—if the tocsin of civil war is sounded, and the land is drenched with the blood of brothers, "I trust in God that there is a redeeming spirit in the Constitution which will be seen to walk with the South through the flames, and preserve her unhurt by the conflagration."

[DOCUMENT G.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 26, 1860.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN J. PETTUS,
GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

Sir:—The package you were pleased to forward to me containing my appointment of Commissioner of Mississippi

to the State of North Carolina, I had the honor to receive on the 13th instant. In obedience to your instructions, I set out for Raleigh, the Capital of the State, on the 17th, and arrived there on the 18th. Immediately on my arrival, His Excellency John W. Ellis, complimented me with a personal visit, and in our first interview I made known the object of my mission. He welcomed me to the State in the kindest terms, and during the same evening I addressed him a communication in which, in dispassionate but decisive language, I attempted to set forth the apprehended evils of which Mississippi complains, and invited the co-operation of North Carolina in devising a remedy.

This communication was laid before the Legislature with a short message, on the 20th, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

Your Commissioner was received with great cordiality, courtesy and consideration by the Legislature of the State, and sympathy and respect for our State and her people were manifested on all sides.

On the 20th, however, the Legislature adjourned over for the holidays until the 7th of January proximo. After my arrival, a bill appropriating \$300,000 for the purchase of arms for the State passed the Senate with only three dissenting votes, and when it was sent to the House of Commons several test votes were taken upon the bill which demonstrated that an overwhelming majority of that body favored the appropriation. This bill will be the first business in order on the re-assembling of the Legislature. There was a strong feeling, however, with many members to increase the sum from \$300,000 to one million dollars.

The bill providing for a call of the Convention of the State had been deferred when I arrived until the 7th of January. I feel confident that both these measures will be passed.

The prevailing sentiment of the Legislature and the people is that all the distracting questions arising out of our constitutional rights to property in slaves must be now settled for all time to come. An anxiety is felt to maintain the Union of these States, if that can be done without a forfeiture of honor and endangering our property. But to keep North Carolina in the Union something decisive must be done, and that at an early day, to effectually arrest the carrying into effect the policy of the Black Republicans. As soon as all hope of a satisfactory adjustment of the slavery issues is abandoned, the voice of North Carolina

will be well nigh unanimous for a Southern Confederacy. There is already a very large, spirited and talented proportion of the people of the State in favor of separate State action and immediate secession. This feeling is growing daily; the mountain districts are zealous and enthusiastic; the low country, where the large slave population is found is slower and more cautious. But the spirit of the patriots of Mecklenburg in 1775 is entering the hearts of the people everywhere, and it will carry them to its legitimate conclusions of resistance to wrong and the maintenance of our Constitution in its purity against the revolution threatened by an irresponsible majority. Should the election ever be presented whether North Carolina shall continue her connection with the non-slaveholding States of the North, or join her Southern sister States on the Gulf of Mexico, she will follow the promptings of her heart and unite her destiny with us.

In Congress, no disposition for accommodation is shown, and if there be no change, and I cannot believe there will be, North Carolina will be ready to act decisively by the 4th of March next.

As far as I could ascertain the feelings and wishes of North Carolina, it was that Mississippi, were she inclined to adopt the line of separate secession, should postpone the day on which her ordinance of separation should take effect till the 3d of March, at which time, by reason of the failure of all efforts at accommodation, she will be ready to become her ally and confederate—and it is further my opinion, that as goes North Carolina, so will go all the border slave States.

Thanking you for the confidence you have reposed in me, and ready now and at all times, to sacrifice life, fortune and all I hold most dear for our beloved sovereign Mississippi.

I have the honor to be,

Your friend and obedient servant,

J. THOMPSON.

RALEIGH, N. C., Thursday, December 20, 1860.

TO THE HONORABLE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Gentlemen :—Herewith I transmit a communication from the Hon. Jacob Thompson, a distinguished citizen from the

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State of Mississippi, now present in this city as a Commissioner from that State to the State of North Carolina.

The communication discloses in firm, yet dispassionate language, the sentiments of Mississippi upon the subject of our national troubles, and will, I doubt not, meet with a cordial response upon the part of the people of North Carolina, believing as I do, that it is a settled conviction with them that all controverted questions touching the institution of African slavery in the United States, should and must now be definitively adjusted, and the agitating subject forever removed from the minds of men.

Apart from the grave character of the mission, it is a pleasing circumstance that Mississippi should select, as her messenger to us a native of North Carolina, upon whom she has heretofore conferred the choicest honors in the gift of her people, and it is with high satisfaction that I now make a public recognition of this courtesy.

Executive Department, December 20, 1860.

ADDRESS.

RALEIGH, N. C., December 20, 1860.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN W. ELLIS,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that I have been duly appointed a Commissioner from the State of Mississippi to the State of North Carolina. I have been instructed by the Governor of Mississippi, to report myself, in person, to your Excellency, and through your kind offices to inform the people of this Commonwealth "that the Legislature of Mississippi has passed an act calling a Convention of the people of the State, to consider the threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the United States; aggravated by the recent election of a President upon principles of hostility to the States of the South, and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi that North Carolina will co-operate with her, in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defense and safety of the South."

It affords me great pleasure to accept this appointment, and to obey these instructions; yet I most sincerely regret the public necessity which impels my adopted State to ask

for the counsel and co-operation of my native State. Common dangers threaten the peace, honor and safety of both; and it is certain that an unresisting submission to the aggressive and hostile policy of the Northern States will inevitably involve both in a common humiliation and ruin. The crisis demands action. It is unbecoming a free people to close their eyes to the issue forced upon them, and to cry peace, peace, when there is no peace. The antagonism of opinion, upon the questions growing out of the recognition by the Constitution of the right of property in slaves, so long and angrily discussed, has at last culminated, in the adoption, by a majority of the Northern people of the doctrine of the "irrepressible conflict." The leading idea of this creed is that the Union of these States cannot endure, half of them slaveholding, and the other half non-slaveholding. This conflict is to be inaugurated under the forms of the Constitution on the 4th of March next, and if adhered to and carried out, the assertions of its most violent advocates that "freedom is triumphant," and "that slavery is overthrown," are self-evident propositions.

It is admitted that each State must decide for herself, both the mode and measure of redress for present and prospective evils and grievances. One destiny, however, awaits all the slaveholding States of this Union, and fate has indissolubly linked their fortunes together: Therefore, it is meet, and wise, and proper and expedient, that they should consult and advise together, for their common defense and general welfare. Thus the hasty and precipitate will be checked, the laggard and spiritless aroused to action, and a universal confidence will be felt, that our rights will be secure, and our government placed on the safest and surest foundation.

Mississippi is content with the compact which our fathers framed. The Constitution of the United States already affords guarantees which are ample for our security. But they are found on parchment only. The people of the Northern States have not kept faith with us. Not only have a majority of the non-slaveholding States rendered all legislation for our protection nugatory and inoperative by State enactments, but on the 6th of November last, a majority of the people of all the free States endorsed a platform of principles in direct conflict with the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court, and thus the will of a numerical majority—a majority trained from infancy to hate our people and their institutions, are to be substituted in their stead.

The Executive and Judicial departments of the government, and the Senate of the United States have always held that property in slaves was recognized by the Constitution, and therefore, under a common flag was entitled to protection. The dominant party deny this proposition, and thus by their construction, the Constitution will be changed, this common Government will be revolutionized, and instead of throwing its broad shield over all the citizens of all the States, protecting each and all equally in the possession and enjoyment of their rights of property, it will be perverted into an engine for the destruction of our domestic institutions, and the subjugation of our people.

The question which is now submitted both to Mississippi and North Carolina, is this, shall we sit quietly down without a murmur, and allow all our constitutional rights of property to be taken away by a construction of the Constitution which originates in hostility and hatred, or shall we, as men who know our rights, bestir ourselves, and by a firm, united and cordial "co-operation," fortify and strengthen them, that they may be transmitted unimpaired to our children, and our children's children, throughout all generations. Wisdom dictates that all the questions arising out of the institution of slavery, should be settled now and settled forever.

A people jealous of their liberty will detect danger while it is yet afar off, and provide the remedy. If ever there was a people answering this description, the past glorious history of North Carolina will point out your fellow-citizens as that people.

I bear this message of Mississippi to you, and through you, to the people of North Carolina; and I hope that you will allow me to inform Mississippi that North Carolina is fully alive to the importance of the present crisis, and "will co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defense and safety of the South."

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

J. THOMPSON,
Commissioner from Mississippi.

[DOCUMENT H.]

JACKSON, January 10, 1861.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN J. PETTUS,
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

Sir:—I have the honor to report to you, that in execution of the trust reposed in me by your Excellency, as Commissioner to the State of Maryland under the act of the Legislature of this State at its recent session, I visited the State of Maryland without delay after receiving my commission at your hands.

I visited the Executive of that State, who had before my appointment, come to the determination not to convoke the Legislature of his State; and I also addressed him in writing desiring to be informed whether in the present emergency of public affairs, he would call together the Legislature. In my personal interview with him, I respectfully, but earnestly urged many considerations which appeared to demand an assemblage of the Legislature; but he replied insisting that the emergency did not demand or justify such action; and in reply to my written communication, he addressed me the letter which I herewith transmit, stating his views upon the subject and his determination not to call together the Legislature, under the circumstances then existing.

I was not surprised at this, as I was aware at the time the commission was tendered to me by your Excellency, that the Executive of Maryland, had taken his position not to convoke the Legislature; and therefore, in accepting the commission, I stated to your Excellency that I was not hopeful of doing any good to the cause of Southern rights through the direct action of the Executive of that State; but that I hoped to make known to the people there, the views entertained by this State in relation to our rights and duties in common with all the Southern States; and in order to do so, that I should address the people upon the subject. Accordingly after visiting the Executive, I visited several parts of the State, and made addresses to the people, setting forth, in my feeble manner, the views and position of this State, and inviting the co-operation of the people of that State.

I am very happy to believe and to be able to say, that the people of Maryland are in heart and in interest with the

State of Mississippi, and that they will ultimately be with us in political union. A large number of the most eminent men of the State agree with us in principle; and the true course of the South, as we regard it here, is gaining strength and force every day. The peculiar local situation of the State—having a long line of a non-slaveholding State to which she is exposed, and having the Federal Capital within her limits—now operates to restrain speedy action in support of the course which we, of this State, deem the proper one in the emergency; and to this may be added the persistent refusal of the Executive, against all petitions, remonstrances and protestations, to allow the people to express their will, by the only mode in which it can be formally done—a course which suppresses for the time the sentiment of the people and paralyzes their action. But from the cordial reception that sound doctrine met at the hands of that gallant and patriotic old State in the address I made them, which follows the reply of the Governor to my communication, and in my personal communications with them, I doubt not that, as soon as she shall be relieved of, or is aroused to bid defiance to, the Executive contingency which now paralyzes their efforts and their will, she will wheel into the line of the Southern Confederacy, and add the old “Maryland line” to the fortunes and destiny where her rights, her principles and her interest find a congenial home. The Revolutionary spark has touched their hearts and will never be extinguished until it accomplishes now what it achieved in the day of its original glory, the establishment of her rights and her honor, by a re-union with the Southern States whose feelings and interests are identical with her own.

I have the honor to remain with high respect,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

A. H. HANDY.

STATE OF MARYLAND, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
ANNAPOLIS, December 19, 1860. }

Sir:—Your letter of the 18th instant, informs me that you have been appointed by the Governor of Mississippi, in pursuance of a resolution of the Legislature, a Commissioner to the State of Maryland: and that the occasion of your mission is “the present crisis in the national affairs of this country, and the danger which impends the safety and rights of the Southern States, by reason of the election of a

sectional candidate to the office of President of the United States, and upon a platform of principles destructive of our Constitutional rights; and which, in the opinion of the State of Mississippi calls for prompt and decisive action for the purpose of our protection and future security."

You also inform me that Mississippi desires the co-operation of her sister States of the South, in measures necessary to defend our rights; and to this end, you desire to know whether I will convene the Legislature of Maryland, for the purpose of counselling with the constituted authorities of the State of Mississippi: and at what time it may be expected our General Assembly will be called for that purpose.

In the conversation I had with you this morning, you were good enough to explain, more fully, the views and intentions of Mississippi in this matter: her desire that our Legislature should also appoint Commissioners to meet those of other Southern States: and that action at once be had by all the Southern States, for the formation of a new government among themselves.

The position of Maryland, as a Small, Southern Border State, renders the exercise of any power I may possess, for the purposes indicated by you, a matter of very grave importance.

Our State is, unquestionably, identified with the Southern States, in feeling and by the institutions and habits which prevail among us. But she is also conservative, and above all things, devoted to the Union of these States under the Constitution. Her people will use all honorable means to preserve and perpetuate these. I think I know the sentiments of her citizens in this matter; and that I am not mistaken when I say, that, almost unanimously, they intend to uphold that Union and to maintain their rights under it: that they believe these last will yet be admitted and secured: and that not until it is certain they will be respected no longer: not until every honorable, constitutional and lawful effort to secure them is exhausted,—will they consent to any effort for its dissolution.

The people of Maryland are anxious that time be given, and an opportunity afforded, for a fair and honorable adjustment of those difficulties and grievances of which they, more than the people of any other Southern State, have a right to complain. And, in my opinion, if the people of this Union really desire its continuance and perpetuity, such adjustment may be effected. I hope, and believe, it will be effected; and promptly; and until the effort is proved to be

vain, I cannot consent, by any precipitate or revolutionary action to aid in the dismemberment of this Union.

When I shall see clearly that there is no hope of such adjustment, and am convinced that the power of the Federal Government is to be perverted to the destruction, instead of being used for the protection of our rights: then, and not till then, can I consent so to exercise any power with which I am invested, as to afford even the opportunity of such a proceeding.

Whatever powers I may have, I shall use only after full consultation, and in fraternal concert with the other Border States, since we, and they, in the event of any dismemberment of the Union will suffer more than all the others combined.

I am now in correspondence with the Governors of those States; and I await with solicitude, for the indication of the course to be pursued by them. When this is made known to me I shall be ready to take such steps as our duty and interests shall demand; and I do not doubt the people of Maryland are ready to stand with the people of those States for weal or woe.

I fully agree with all that you have said as to the necessity for protection to the rights of the South; and my sympathies are entirely with the gallant people of Mississippi who stand ready to meet any infringement of those rights. But I earnestly hope they will act with prudence as well as with courage. Let us show moderation as well as firmness; and be unwilling to resort to extreme measures until necessity shall leave us no choice.

I am unable to inform you when the Legislature of this State will be called together; for until I can perceive the necessity for such a step, I am not willing to awaken the apprehensions, and excite the alarm, which such a call, at the present time, could not fail to excite.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THOS. H. HICKS.

Hon. A. H. HANDY,

Commissioner of Mississippi.

Substance of Speech delivered by Hon. A. H. Handy, Commissioner to Maryland, at Princess Anne, Maryland, on the 1st day of January, 1861.

FELLOW-CITIZENS :

I appear before you, as a Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, the home of my adoption, from whence I have received the distinguished honor to bear back to this, the land of my birth, the message which she sends to this time-honored State; and to take counsel with her, in relation to the protection of those rights which were transmitted to us by our fathers. I come to you, not to agitate questions of party politics; for such questions are as foreign to my pursuits in life as they are to the objects of my mission; but to present to you the course which the State of Mississippi deems it her duty to take for the preservation of the great principles on which the rights and liberties of the people of the States of this Union rest—principles high above the elevation of any mere political party, and immeasurably superior to the mere name or form of the Government under color of which those principles are about to be trampled under foot.

In Mississippi, party names are gone, and party struggles ended. We are rallied from the outposts to the citadel, and with extraordinary unanimity; forgetful of past and recent differences, the cry is, *men and brethren, what must we do to save the Constitution and defend our rights?* The Philistines are upon us, and we must arouse ourselves in our strength as one man, and defend our liberties, though we shake the pillars of the temple of this Union, nay, though we are driven to the dread necessity of standing with our feet upon its revered ruins, in order to preserve and bear aloft the sacred principles which it was designed to establish and perpetuate. I know the people whom I address. Bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, your prosperity and happiness are dear to my heart. I shall appeal to your intelligence, and to that patriotism which rests deep in the heart of every true son of Maryland, which flowed in the hearts of our fathers and led them to strike for liberty and right. I shall ask you, by their sacred memories, to stand by those high principles, and to assert and defend, at all hazards, the inestimable inheritance which they staked their "lives, their fortunes and

their sacred honor," to secure for you. Standing upon this soil, rendered sacred by the blood of the revolution, treading upon the very ashes of those who fought to achieve it, I feel that I may justly appeal to the heirs of their fortunes and of their glory, to preserve the noble principles which they established, not beguiled, by names and forms, to sacrifice their essence, but to keep the treasure in its purity and power, that sons of yours may never have to curse your memories because you were unfaithful to the high trust committed to you by your fathers.

What, then, brings me before you, and whence the anxiety and gloom that I see depicted in every countenance?

THE GOVERNMENT OF THIS UNION IS IN A STATE OF REVOLUTION. This has been put on foot and is already commenced, by the election of Abraham Lincoln, as President of the United States, upon a declaration and pledges of principles and designs, which subvert the Constitution of the United States. All that remains to render the revolution one in fact, is the accession of him with his party to power, and the perpetration of the designs which he is solemnly pledged to carry out, and which he was elected to accomplish. He has been elected upon the openly declared principle that an "*irrepressible conflict*" exists between the Northern and anti-slavery States on the one side, and the Southern States on the other, by which all the States of the Union *must* become either slaveholding or non-slaveholding States.—that slaveholding is a sin and a national disgrace, which they, of the Northern States, will not submit to bear,—that holding property in man is against the law of God, the principles of our Government, and the opinion of the civilized world, and will not be tolerated and cannot continue in the States belonging to the same Union under which they live. These views Abraham Lincoln is elected to carry into practice, by the use of all the power of his administration; and for proof of this, I refer you to the platform upon which he was elected, and the views of the leaders of his party, and to a few of his declarations of opinion, upon the faith of which he was chosen as the standard-bearer of his party, and has since been elected President of the United States.

In the authorized publication of his speeches, circulated during the recent presidential canvass, the speeches from which the following extracts are made, will be found :

"I did not even say that I desired that slavery should be put in course of ultimate extinction. I do say so now,

however; so there need be no longer any difficulty about that. It may be written down in the great speech."

"*I have always hated slavery; I think, as much as any abolitionist. I have been an old-line whig. I have always hated it; but I have always been quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska bill began. I always believed that everybody was against it and that it was in course of ULTIMATE EXTINCTION.*"

"We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. '*A house divided against itself cannot stand.*' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will CEASE TO BE DIVIDED: IT WILL BECOME ALL ONE THING OR ALL THE OTHER. *Either the opponents of slavery will ARREST the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ULTIMATE EXTINCTION, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.*"

Commenting on this, he afterwards said:

"I only said what *I expected would take place*. I made a prediction only; it may have been a foolish one, perhaps. I did not even say that I desired that slavery should be put in course of ultimate extinction. *I do now, however; so there need be no longer any difficulty about that.*"

"If I were in Congress, and a vote should come up on a question whether slavery should be prohibited in a new Territory, *in spite of the Dred Scott decision*, I WOULD VOTE THAT IT SHOULD."

"What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man *without the other man's consent*. I say this is the leading principle, the SHEET ANCHOR of *American republicanism*. Our Declaration of Independence says:

"*'We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, DERIVING their just power from the consent of the governed.'*"

"I have quoted so much at this time merely to show, that according to our ancient faith, the powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed. Now, the relation of master and slave is, *pro tanto*, a violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed an EQUAL VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT; and that, and that only is, self-government."

Thus speaks, Wm. H. Seward, the high priest of this party:

"Thus, these *antagonistic systems* are continually coming into closer contact, and *collision results*. Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States MUST AND WILL, sooner or later, become entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture, and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more a market for trade in the bodies and souls of men. It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromise between the slave and free States, and it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromise, when made, VAIN and EPHEMERAL."

And again:

"What a commentary upon the history of man is the fact, that eighteen years after the death of John Quincy Adams, the people have for their standard-bearer Abraham Lincoln, confessing the obligations of the HIGHER LAW, which the Sage of Quincy proclaimed, and contending, for weal or woe, for life or death, in the IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT between freedom and slavery. I desire only to say that we are in the LAST stage of the conflict, before the great triumphal inauguration of this policy into the Government of the United States."

Speaking of the Dred Scott decision, he says:

"The people of the United States never can, and they never will, accept principles so unconstitutional and so abhorrent. Never, never. *Let the Court recede.* Whether it recedes or not, we shall reorganize the Court, and thus reform its political sentiments and practices."

"It is written in the Constitution of the United States, *in violation of the Divine law*, that we shall surrender the fugitive slave. You blush not at these things because they are familiar as household words."

Listen to the declarations of Mr. Chase:

We feel, therefore, that all LEGAL DISTINCTION between individuals of the same community, founded in any such circumstances as color, origin, and the like, *are hostile to the genius of our institutions*, and incompatible with the true theory of American liberty. *SLAVERY and oppression must CEASE, or American liberty must perish.*

"I embrace, with pleasure, this opportunity of declaring MY DISAPPROBATION of that clause of the Constitution which denies to a portion of the colored people the right of suffrage.

"True democracy makes no inquiry *about the color of the skin or place of nativity*, or other similar circumstance or condition. I regard, therefore, the exclusion *of the colored people, as a body, from the elective franchise, as INCOMPATIBLE with true democratic principles.*"

"For myself, I am ready to renew my pledge, and I will venture to speak in behalf of my co-workers, that we will go straight on, without faltering or wavering, *until every vestige of oppression shall be erased from the statute-books*—until the sun, in all its journey from the utmost eastern horizon through the mid-heaven, till he sinks behind the western bed, shall NOT BEHOLD THE FOOT-PRINT OF A SINGLE SLAVE *in all our broad and glorious land.*"

Hear what the platform of the Chicago Convention says:

"7. That, the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into the Territories of the United States, is *a dangerous political heresy*, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with cotemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country."

And this is said with reference to a solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case, which is treated as a mere dogma, and denounced as a political heresy!

These extracts are sufficient to show the principles and purposes of the party about to be placed in power over the rights and liberties of the people of the States of this Union.

I need not consume time to show this intelligent people, that our right to hold slaves is justified by the Law of God—that it is distinctly recognised and provided for in the Constitution, laws and treaties of the United States, and sanctioned by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States—that this right cannot be violated without a subversion of the Constitution and a destruction of the property of the people of the Southern States, especially the cotton growing States, absolutely indispensable to their prosperity, nay, their existence, and which would lead to their degradation and ruin. But let us see by what means these wicked and profligate men—who regard not the law of God, and would lay their ruthless hands upon the Constitution—holding that there is a higher morality than the Word of God, a higher law than the Constitution of the United States, and a paramount rule of property under the Constitution to that declared by the Supreme Court—would accomplish their infamous purposes:

1. Slavery is to be abolished in the District of Columbia, forts, arsenals, &c. of the United States, and the citizen of a Southern State prohibited from taking his slave property to the common territory of the United States—thus discriminating against his property, and degrading him below the citizen of the non-slaveholding State, in clear violation of his right of equality in the exercise of his right of property guarantied by the Constitution.

2. The slave-trade between the States is to be abolished, thereby preventing the exportation of slaves from the old Southern States, until their increase shall become an evil, and compel their emancipation, and thus abolitionize those States.

3. To repeal the laws against incendiary publications, to incite slaves to insurrection and bloodshed, and to pass new laws to protect the freedom of speech and of prints, addressed to slaves and slaveholding communities, to teach slaves their right of liberty, and thus render them so dangerous to the lives of the white population as to compel their emancipation.

Thus the right of property of the citizens of the Southern States is to be assailed and destroyed—the Constitution violated—the decisions of the Supreme Court and the laws

of Congress spurned—citizens of the slaveholding States insulted, outraged and condemned to disgraceful punishment for exercising their undoubted Constitutional rights. These purposes have been time and again avowed by the leaders of the party of Lincoln, and, so far as they had the power, *have been put into practice.* And now, in the ominous language of Mr. Seward, which I have quoted, "*we are in the last stage of the conflict, before THE GREAT TRIUMPHAL INAUGURATION of this policy into the Government of the United States.*" The party has triumphed at the ballot box, the verdict of the people has been pronounced according to the forms of the Constitution, and they claim it as a solemn sanction of their avowed designs, and only await the time fixed by the Constitution to take the power of the Government, and fulfil their pledges, and execute the popular will constitutionally declared.

Nothing but the most unpardonable credulity could warrant the belief that these men will shrink from their pledges. They are cool-headed men, who have pursued their object for years, amidst the scorn and obloquy of all right-minded men; and now, when they are flushed with success, with the means of execution in their power, with all the emoluments of the Government within their grasp, and with their rapacious hordes at their heels crying for the spoils, and their infatuated followers demanding the execution of their unholy pledges, would it not be the most criminal delusion to act upon the belief that they will not execute their diabolical behests? Let them have the purse and the sword of this Government, and we shall quickly see how true they will be to their base pledges, unless arrested by the strong arms and brave hearts of the people of the South. Is it the part of wisdom and safety to permit them to get possession of this formidable power, *having dominion over us*; and to trust to their forbearance not to use it to our oppression? Some say we should wait for "*overt acts*;" but whence the wisdom of such delay? If we are satisfied that they will carry out their pledges, why place ourselves within their power, and then trust to the mercy of men who go into power trampling under foot laws, courts, constitution, and the Word of God? It would be madness to trust to their sense of justice, or to their respect for the constitution. The stake is too great to be entrusted to the moral sense of infidels and barbarians. We must protect it ourselves, by acting from abundant caution. *We must treat the Government, as it in fact is, in a state of revolution, by the elevation*

of a party upon the prostration of the Constitution; and never submit ourselves to its dominion, until we have our rights so fully, clearly and effectively secured, as to be beyond all possible danger from the wicked men who will come into possession of the places and power of the Government. Any other course than this will, in all human probability, place us in a condition of great disadvantage, from which we will not be able to extricate ourselves without great difficulty and much suffering.

These fell purposes do not rest entirely or principally, upon fanaticism, for their motive. Yankee *lust for gain* and for the emoluments of the Government, first gave rise to the party, and still continues to animate the efforts of the chief conspirators against the Constitution. Finding that, under the true principles of the Constitution and the rightful operations of the Government, its honors and emoluments were beyond the reach of their friends, at the North, the originators of the party conceived the scheme of getting recruits to their strength by abolitionising the agricultural States of the West. It appears that they have been eminently successful in this, by blinding them to their true designs and appealing to their fanatical feelings and Yankee proclivities. The same purpose is entertained towards the Southern border States, but not to be accomplished by the same means. With them the policy is one of compulsion—to make slavery an evil by interfering with its benefits, and to bring about its abolition. If this effort succeeds, the abolition States would be increased to such a number, as to give them the complete power of the Government, for honors, offices and emoluments, to be wielded at discretion, enabling them to make whatever amendments to the Constitution they thought fit. Against these designs the cotton States of the South have ever stood firm and immovable, because slavery was and is indispensable to their subsistence. Yet the abolition hopes and efforts have not been relaxed as to the other slave States. If they can be gained to abolition, the purpose of the conspirators against the vital principles of the Constitution, will be accomplished—they will have the power to transform the Government to the oppression of the slaveholding States without restriction, and will destroy the chief glory of the Constitution, which is to *protect the minority against the arbitrary power of the majority*. Once admitted, the principle may be applied whenever the fanaticism, avarice or lust of power of our masters may see fit to exercise it; and our property, our

rights, our honor, our family altars, our wives and our children, are at their arbitrary will. The glorious Constitution of our fathers becomes the most grinding of despotisms, and the more so, because, though fair and just in form, it is in practice *a cheat and a fraud*.

That it is a cardinal purpose of this party about to be elevated to power, to destroy *this crowning glory of the Constitution, by which the rights of the minority are protected against the power of the majority*, is most manifest from the whole tenor of their doctrines; and the avowal of such a doctrine as a principle upon which the new administration is to come into power, is itself the proclamation of a revolution in the Government.

And now, fellow-citizens, what must we do in this solemn crisis? Every principle of safety, of patriotism, of honor, impels us *to action*—to prompt, decisive, radical action. And, first, let me tell you what we of Mississippi think we ought *not to do*, to protect our Constitutional rights.

1. *We ought not to rely on Congressional action*, and new securities to be obtained thereby. Two committees have been appointed to take into consideration the crisis in public affairs and to devise means of protection—a committee of thirty-three of the House of Representatives, and a committee of thirteen of the Senate. The former has been at work for several weeks, engaged in trifling and immaterial matters, carefully avoiding the questions which constitute the grounds of our grievances. It was raised at the instance of one of the most vindictive enemies of our constitutional rights, who appears to have become alarmed at the spirit of resistance manifested by our people; willing to hold out the delusive hope that something will be done by this committee for our security, and thereby prevent that action at our hands which the plainest dictates of self-protection demand. It is composed of birds of every feather, whose agreement upon any plan at all adequate to secure our rights, is next to impossible; and if any vital and practical test of the questions at issue between us and our enemies is pressed for its action it will instantly explode. It is a miserable cheat, got up to prevent energetic action on the part of the Southern States, and to eke out the valuable time for action between this and the 4th March, when they will be quietly committed to the dominion of Abraham Lincoln, and then the labors and the purpose of this committee will be completed.

The Senate committee originated in better faith. It was raised **at** the instance of a Southern man, and doubtless with the patriotic desire to give peace to the country and security to our rights. But it is also composed of discordant materials, and it would have been useless if it had not contained representatives from those States, where our rights and the Constitution are most boldly assailed; for, without their assent, all measures of settlement would be nugatory. Its venerable and patriotic chairman (Mr. Crittenden,) has labored faithfully to effect a settlement, demanding nothing but our clear and unquestionable rights, and conceding much of principle and of settled right on our part, which nothing but reverence for the Union could even for a moment reconcile us to yielding. In his over-weening love for the Union, and desire to avert its dissolution, he has even yielded our clear and settled constitutional right to take our slaves to the Territories of the United States, north of 36 deg. 30 min., a surrender without equivalent, and which it would be difficult to reconcile with duty and principle. Yet the offer has been made; and what is the result? On the 22d December, the propositions of Mr. Crittenden came up in the committee, and were earnestly opposed by the four Black Republican members, Wade, Doolittle, Callamer and Grimes. They declared that "*these questions had been settled by the people at the late Presidential election,*" and that "*they had no concessions to make or offer.*"

Thus this party spurns all settlements. The country is enveloped in gloom—a great political earthquake shakes the land to its centre—a sovereign State has withdrawn from the Union—the pillars of the Government are tottering on their base—and yet nothing shakes the vile purpose of this reckless party. They not only make no effort to avert the calamities which threaten the destruction of the Government, but when we ask that our plain rights should be recognised, and that we should be permitted to enjoy them under the protection of that Constitution which our fathers transmitted to us, we are met by the infamous response, *it has been settled by the people at the ballot box that YOU SHALL NOT HAVE YOUR RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION—this has been settled by the verdict of the people, and is not now to be questioned—nothing remains to us but to carry it into execution—*" **WE HAVE NO CONCESSIONS TO MAKE OR TO OFFER."**

is impossible for the patriotic men of this committee to do any thing which will secure our rights at the hands of our enemies of the Constitution, and upon which we may rely as such a settlement of our grievances as we *must* demand and obtain. Their efforts will be in vain, and the 4th of March will find them and all other Congressional agents vain and futile to the protection of our rights. It shall then be, for aught of good we shall derive from our things, as we now are; and be quietly committed to the tender mercies of Abraham Lincoln and his cohorts. No reasonable man, therefore, can believe that our rights can be properly and securely settled by Congressional commissions.

Many persons favor a general convention of all the seceding States, as the mode of protecting our rights. But to this there are grave, if not insuperable objections. In the first place, there is not time to take the necessary steps to hold such a Convention, and to allow it time to act, before the 4th March.

The several State Legislatures would have to convene, in order to appoint delegates, or to call conventions to appoint delegates, to such a general convention. This would require considerable time. Then the convention, when assembled, would necessarily be at a late day before the 4th March, and a very brief time allowed for determining upon a plan of protection to our rights, before that day; and even the anti-slavery States would not have time to act upon their propositions. But several of the States could not be presented in such a convention. The Governors of Maryland and of Texas refuse to convoke their Legislatures, and other States manifest an indisposition to take any step towards an authoritative expression of the will of their people. If such a convention were assembled, at a late day, there is no probability of its determining upon a plan to secure our constitutional rights before the 4th March; or it is much to be lamented, that several of them appear to be most reluctant to take any steps to preserve their constitutional rights.

Time is of the utmost importance in the assertion of our rights. The party elected and pledged to subvert the Constitution to our oppression and degradation, is to be installed into power on the 4th March. A just regard for our rights and our safety in asserting them, demands that we should be in a position independent of their dominion, before that time; claiming our rights under the Constitution, and in a

position to maintain and defend them, freed from the involvements and obligations of the Union, if denied. is a high and sacred duty—nothing less than the *due self-protection*. It is a work of great magnitude, and little time, at best, is allowed to perform it properly. Hence, where so much is at stake, it would be folly to upon the uncertain and problematical expedient of a general convention of the Southern States as the mode of asserting our rights within the time by which our position shall firmly declared.

But this mode of a general convention, appears to be proposed as a means of redress *within the Constitution* of the United States. As such it is highly questionable. the means of protection determined upon by such a convention to be required of the non-slaveholding States, could have any virtue, it would be on the ground that the States adopting it had agreed among themselves, that if their demands were not acceded to, they would withdraw from the Union. Without such an argument, there would be very little force or efficacy in the demands of such a convention. But if such be its character, such a mode of redress cannot be taken in the Union and consistently with the Constitution, which prohibits any State from "entering into an agreement or compact with another State," Art. 1, sec. 2. It is, therefore, either ineffectual as an agreement to protect themselves against the wrongs of a subverted Constitution or it is in violation of the prohibition of the Constitution.

Fellow-Citizens, there is no hope from Congressional action, or from general conventions, or from mere *declarations* of rights and *resolves* of resistance. We must *act*. It is a *necessity* forced upon us. The alternative is, *submission* to a lawless and degrading despotism, to be raised upon the ruins of the Constitution; or, *resistance* to the wicked domination over us. By the acts and proclamations of the enemies of our rights, the Union is virtually dissolved—the bond of the Union is broken in the subversion of the Constitution to our degradation and oppression. In every stage of these efforts, we have warned their authors of the inevitable result. Our arguments, our rights, and our solemn expostulations, have been alike disregarded; and with a resolution worthy of a better cause, they have advanced to the end, and now they stand in the act of seizing the government to execute the judgment of their followers against the Constitution and our rights. We are compelled to *act*. We must *arrest* this unholy *judgment* by vigorous and effect

re action. And the momentous question forces itself upon us—*how shall we act for our protection?*

Two modes are presented. The first is, revolution and resistance to the Government by force, *in the Union*. To this, there are most weighty objections, which I will merely advert to. First, it implies that the *resistance* is to *rightful authority*; and, therefore, the Government would have the right to employ force to suppress it. Such a course might be proper to effect a revolution in the existing government and establish a new one, but not as a means of obtaining our rights under that Government. Secondly, it implies that there is no other adequate remedy or means of safety, but in force. But this is plainly contrary to the spirit of the Union. Its founders never supposed that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution were to be preserved by force. It was formed upon the principle of "promoting the domestic tranquility" of its members; and if the rights contemplated had to be preserved by force, that would itself be a most effectual dissolving of the Union. The remedy is suicidal, and destructive of the genius of the Constitution. Thirdly, it is practically absurd to suppose that the Union could be preserved, or the rights of the citizens secured against the power of the Government, by force and rebellion. The admission of such a remedy would necessarily convert the successful Government into a despotism on the one hand, or otherwise produce anarchy and lawlessness from the repetitions of successful resistance to all obnoxious acts and measures of the Government.

Both in principle and in practical effect, therefore, this remedy cannot be justified.

The only remaining mode of protection is, the peaceable withdrawal of each State by itself from the Union, and a resumption of the sovereign powers delegated by the States in the Constitution, commonly called *secession*; and this is the course which the State of Mississippi has determined to adopt.

Fellow-Citizens, I know that the very name of *secession* is unwelcome to the ears of many whom I now address, as synonymous with treason and rebellion. I know how this people venerate the Union their fathers made, and how their patriotic feelings have been stirred up in prejudice of the purposes of those who have proposed secession as a necessary means of protecting our rights. But I trust you love those rights and principles which the Union was instituted to secure, far above the mere form of their enjoyment—that

dear as the *form* is to your hearts, you will never sacrifice to it the more precious *substance*; and that you dare follow wherever principle and patriotism may lead, in the defense of the great essential rights which our fathers fought to establish, and left us to guard and maintain for ourselves and for our posterity.

I have already shown you the necessity which constrains us to take some extraordinary course to defend our rights. Permit me now, fellow-citizens, to trespass upon your patience while I advert very briefly to some of the considerations which induce the State of Mississippi to withdraw from the Union, as a matter of right, of high principle, and as the only adequate protection to rights, far above the mere name and form of the Union. Time will not permit me to take more than a cursory view of this great question.

In the first place, we believe it to be a *matter of right*, in any State, to withdraw from the Union, whenever the Constitution has been, or there is just ground to believe, will be, subverted, and that the Union will be used as a means to her oppression, and to the destruction of the rights which are recognized in the Constitution.

This right plainly results from the rights and powers which the several States had when they formed the Constitution, and which they did not surrender in the Constitution, and from the nature and purposes of the Union established by the Constitution.

When this Union was formed the several States were "*free and independent*" States. Each was clothed with all the powers of a sovereign State, and as such participated in the formation of the Constitution, and afterwards, each for herself, adopted it as the bond and compact of union with the others. By the Constitution, these sovereign States established a *federal head*, or government, *to represent them* in certain particular respects and relations; and to that end "*delegated*" to it certain specified powers. It was distinctly agreed and understood in the formation of the Constitution, that all the rights and powers not delegated by it to the federal head nor prohibited to the States, were retained and reserved to the several States, as though the Constitution had not been formed. Yet so jealous of this principle were the States, that immediately upon its adoption, its distinct recognition was incorporated as an amendment to the Constitution. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that—as to all the powers which the several States had before the adoption of this Constitution, and which were not therein delegated

to the Federal Government nor prohibited to the States—each State continued to be a *sovereign and independent State*, to all intents and purposes.

Now, when this Union was formed, the principle set forth in the Declaration of Independence was in full force and recognized as a fundamental doctrine by all the States—"that *whenever* any form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established, *it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new Government*," laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." It was upon this high principle that the States were declared "free and independent States," and came into being as such. And the basis principle upon which all republican Governments rest, and especially those of these States, is, that Governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Assuredly the force of these great principles was never intended to be impaired in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. If not, they fully justify the right for which we contend. If the right to alter or abolish a government, whenever it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was created, was surrendered by the States in the formation of the Constitution, I ask to be pointed to the clause of that instrument which shows it. It contains no provision which expressly or impliedly can have such an effect. Am I referred to the article authorizing amendments and providing the mode in which they shall be made? This clearly does not impair the right "to alter or abolish" a government, "and to institute a new Government," set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It has reference to the continuation of the Government, and to such alterations as might be found necessary by time and experience, if it remained perpetual; and not to an obligation never to abolish or abandon it, or to form a new Government. Similar provisions are contained in the State Constitutions; but they have never been held to debar the exercise of the sovereign right of the people of the State to form a new Constitution in a different mode from that prescribed in them.

But it may be impracticable to amend the Constitution in the mode prescribed, by reason of surrounding circumstance, and the growth of usurpations; or it may have become perverted to the destruction of the rights intended to be secured by it when made, beyond remedy by amendment in the mode prescribed. It is clear that the right of amendment could

never apply to such a case ; and that is the condition in which the Southern States are now placed. In such circumstances, we have the Declaration of Independence for authority, "*that it is the right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government and to provide new guards for their future security.*"

Am I referred to the preamble to the Constitution, declaring its purpose to be "*to form a more perfect union.*" There is nothing in that to warrant the idea, that the union was to be indissoluble, notwithstanding it might be perverted to the destruction of all the rights intended to be secured by it. If so, it established a despotism, and annihilated all the principles upon which the Declaration of Independence is based.

Am I asked to show where the right of secession is found in the Constitution ? I answer, it was not necessary to its existence that it should be specified in that instrument. The States did not derive their powers from the Constitution. Its purpose was *not to specify the rights retained, but to enumerate those delegated by them to the Federal Government.* Hence if a right which existed in a State at the formation of the Constitution, does not appear to be "enumerated" among the "delegated" powers conferred on the Government, in the Constitution, it is reserved and remains to the State. It is thus that all the numerous rights and powers of civil administration in the several States, and which are not reserved by enumeration in the Constitution of the United States, were retained and are exercised by the State. Hence it devolves upon those who claim that this high power, this invaluable right, was given up by the several States in the Constitution, to point out where and how this was done ; and if they fail to do so, it appears to be impossible to escape the conclusion, that it is still retained by the States severally, to be exercised whenever in their discretion the protection and safety demand it.

In vain do we search the Constitution to find anything in opposition to this fundamental right of American liberty. And even if it had been there given up in terms, it is in its nature inalienable, as is clearly declared in the Declaration of Independence ; and the surrender would be void.

If we look to the situation of the States when the Union was formed, and the purposes they had in view in forming it, we find nothing that sanctions the idea of an indissoluble union. It was made by sovereign States for specific purposes, and with few and strictly limited powers conferred upon

the great mass of powers, in which the great interests of the people of the States were mostly involved, being reposed by them. If it were dissolved, the great principles established by the revolution, would not perish. Sovereignty would still have the rights and liberties achieved by the Declaration of Independence, and be capable of "instituting a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall appear most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

It is manifest from the provisions of the Constitution, the history in the Convention which framed it, and in the Conventions which adopted it, that it was never intended that the States should be irrevocably bound to submit, under any and all circumstances; but that their right to resume their sovereign powers and absolve themselves from its operation, was clearly recognized, and that the opposition against the necessity for exercising that right, was one of the especial objects of its framers.

It is, first, apparent from the terms of the 10th amendment, that the powers are "*delegated*," not *granted* or *sur-rendered*. This is not language inconsiderately employed. It was adopted after the most careful consideration of its meaning by able men in the State Conventions which adopted the Constitution, who well understood the force of the language used; and introduced with full deliberation, to give it full legal import. Hence its sense is not to be mistaken—the powers were not irrevocably parted with by the States, but were "*delegated*" to the United States, to be exercised by their agent; and this clearly implies the right to resume them when the States should deem it necessary.

The Convention of Virginia, the resolutions adopting the Constitution declare, "that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, be resumed by them whensoever the same shall be affected to their injury and oppression." By the words "of the United States" here used, is plainly meant, "*of the States*" composing the United States.

The Convention which framed the Constitution, Mr. Madison spoke of the coercion of Federal laws, that "*it would produce a dissolution of the Union*," 2 Madison papers. Mr. Madison said, "it would probably be considered as a *dissolution of all pre-existing compacts by which it might be bound*. Ib: 761. Mr. Madison made similar declarations in the Convention of 1787, 2 Elliott's debates, 232.

Throughout the history of its formation and adoption, Government was admitted to be one of strictly limited powers, and the fear of many of its advocates was, that it would be too weak for the State Governments, and would therefore fail.

In addition to this evidence, the opinion of Mr. V. whose views upon the powers and nature of the Government have had so great an influence upon the mind—is entitled to weight. In speaking of the secession in his speech at Capon Springs, Virginia, he said :—

“I do not hesitate to say, and repeat, that if the Northern States refuse, wilfully and deliberately, to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the return of fugitive slaves, the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. A bargain broken on one side is a bargain broken on all sides.”

Those, therefore, who deny the power of the States to assume their sovereign powers, must deny the principle of the Declaration of Independence; deny the right of the States to alter or abolish their government and to make a new one; deny that the government of the United States is a government of delegated powers derived from the States which adopted it, and assert that its powers are inherent in the people, and that it is the great centre and source of power and protection to the State. I know that many honest and well-meaning men, who entertain no doubt that the States are mere dependencies of the Federal Government, occupying the same relation to it as colonies to the parent country or counties to a State. How, then, do the views of the patriots who framed, and those who have adopted, the Constitution, the history of these events, and the results, have slightly glanced at, will upon full examination abundantly show. It is indeed strange that so many men, that they will not permit their reason to operate upon the subject; and when you reason to them of the history, powers and true relations of the States and the Federal Government, they turn with superstitious horror at the contemplation, add shut their eyes to what they have seen, and ferment the feelings of the bold minds and brave hearts which have achieved our liberty and deliverance from the same opinions entertained towards Great Britain! I know that the superstitious adoration for this grand, mythical co-

ernment, which has beset the minds of many men, and held their judgments spell-bound. So potent has been its influence that it has worked a revolution in the Government. The true theory of the Government, as it was intended by its framers, was *strong States and a weak Federal head*—this was its beauty and its glory. But this fatal delusion has been the main instrument of reversing this relation, emasculating the States of nearly all their dignity and moral power, and transforming the Federal Government into a grand, central dynasty, wielding unlimited power except as to the mere forms of the Constitution. This revolution is now about to be reduced to a practical consummation, by the elevation of men upon the prostration of the Constitution; and this dread calamity is only to be prevented by a resort to the rights and powers which the States possessed when they formed the Union, which they never parted with, and which are, in their nature, inalienable.

Do you ask how this right is to be exercised? I answer, it is peaceful in its character. Because it is a *right*, no power on earth has a right to interfere with its exercise.—It is a *peaceful resumption of the powers of government* which are about to be perverted to our oppression; which we delegated to a government which has become destructive of the purposes of its institution, and to which we cannot submit. In this consists its chief virtue, and the characteristic excellence of our system of government above all the systems of the world—that from the nature of the compact, each State has the right to withdraw from its operation, and to become immediately and peaceably restored to her position of an independent, sovereign State, with her own internal government in force, and with full capacity to enter into any other confederacy which the happiness and welfare of her people may demand. If in the exercise of these rights, she is molested by those who deny them, it will be plainly wrongful, and her defence against the oppression will be forced upon her by necessity.

But it is plain that the Federal Government has no right by the Constitution to employ coercion against such a State; for that would most effectually subvert the Government, and destroy the Union. The Union can only subsist as one of *free and equal* States. But if a State be coerced by the Federal Government to submit to its dominion, she is no longer a free and co-equal member of the confederacy, but is reduced to the condition of a subjugated and degraded province, to be the subject of a military despotism. And

this shows both the right of a State to withdraw from the Union, and the want of all power in the Federal Government to interfere with the exercise of the right by force.

The dissolution of this Union can never be contemplated by a true American heart without the deepest pain. Yet whenever it becomes necessary, to protect our sacred rights, it becomes a duty from which no veneration for its past glories or for the memories of the patriots who framed it, should cause us to shrink. Those noble men, if now living, would raise their voices against the desecration of the institutions they left us, and their warnings now appeal to us, that it is "our right, it is our duty," to throw off a prostituted government, "and to provide new guards for our future security."

And now, fellow-citizens, let me tell you the position which Mississippi occupies in this great emergency.

We are satisfied that nothing, short of secession, will secure our rights under the Constitution, and settle the slavery agitation once and forever. We must take a position where we can effectually "provide new guards for our future security." Nothing but an extreme remedy can prevent the utter subversion of the Constitution. Congressional action and conventional declarations of right, will never arrest the revolution which is set on foot by the election of Lincoln. Prompt, vigorous and radical action by the Southern States is necessary, to let the enemies of the Constitution know, that we are in earnest, and that the day of what they call "Southern bluster," is past. But a brief period is allowed for putting ourselves in a position to save the Constitution and protect our rights before the 4th of March. Safety and duty demand that we should act before that time.

We do not intend to be quietly slid under the dominion of Abraham Lincoln, with all our constitutional protection prostrated, and with the difficulties of extrication from such a position increased. If all the Southern States act promptly and unitedly in this movement, that and nothing short of it will bring the enemies of the Constitution to a sense of our rights. We may, by such bold and decided action, prevent the subversion of the Government, provide full and efficient protection against further invasion of our rights, and restore the Constitution. But if this should prove to be impracticable, then we will have done our duty to presume the Constitution; and having failed, we will be in a position of readiness to form a new Confederacy, a homogeneous Union, where we can enjoy the rights which are

denied to us under the Government which we will have been compelled to abandon.

We may expect to be vilified and denounced, as traitors and rebels. So were our fathers of the Revolution. But, like them, we will appeal to the civilized world and to the Supreme Judge of it, for the rectitude of our intentions; and bearing aloft our glorious Constitution, as the ark of the covenant of our rights and liberties, we will pass away from this worse than Egyptian bondage, trusting to the God of wisdom to guide us, and that He will open the troubled waters for our safe passage, and hold them to overwhelm the hosts which shall attempt to pursue us.

[DOCUMENT I.]

NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 13, 1860.

HIS EXCELLENCY, J. J. PETTUS,
JACKSON, MISS.

Sir:—In discharge of the duties imposed by my appointment as Commissioner to the State of Louisiana, I beg to report to your Excellency, that I repaired without delay to Baton Rouge, the Capital of the State, where the Legislature had convened in extraordinary session on the 10th instant.

On my arrival I promptly notified the Governor of Louisiana of my presence and the objects of my mission by addressing him the inclosed communication. Governor Moore immediately responded to my note by requesting a personal interview in the Executive Chamber, to which I repaired, and was most cordially and courteously received by himself and the Hon. T. J. Semmes, Attorney-General of the State.

In an unwavering interview of an hour with them, I explained, to the best of my ability, the views of your Excellency regarding the present grave crisis in our political affairs, and the action of the Legislature of Mississippi in reference thereto at their late extra session. I dwelt upon the unanimity which characterized their proceedings, the overwhelming public sentiment by which they were sustained in the State, and the certain prospect of the prompt secession of Mississippi from a Federal Union, which must

become, under the Black Republican regime soon to be inaugurated, the engine of the degradation and destruction of the South. I solicited the co-operation of Louisiana in the action Mississippi proposed to take as the only means left for the protection of Southern Rights and honor. I was gratified to learn from these distinguished patriots and statesmen that the action and predominant sentiment of Mississippi met with their cordial sanction and sympathy, and that they had every confidence the people of Louisiana would vindicate the constitutional rights of the South by the action of their State Convention.

During my interview with Gov. Moore, I was waited upon by a committee of both branches of the Legislature and invited to a seat within the bar of their respective chambers.

On the day following at 10 o'clock, I was formally received by the Legislature in joint session, when in reply to the remarks I had the honor to submit, Lieutenant-Governor Hyams, President of the Senate, made an able and eloquent address, a copy of which I herewith furnish as indicative of the sentiment of Louisiana.

After further conference with the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Attorney-General, and the members of the Legislature, I took my leave of them, and shall ever cherish the most grateful recollection of the courtesy, kindness and cordial hospitality I received at their hands.

The Legislature, by a unanimous vote has called a Convention, to assemble on the 23d of January proximo, and I think I may with entire confidence, predict that within a few days thereafter she will assume her place in the great Southern column, freed of Federal shackles, and resolve to submit only to such a Government as brave and honorable men can approve.

I have the honor to remain,

Your obedient servant,

WIRT ADAMS, Commissioner.

HARNEY HOUSE, BATON ROUGE, LA., December 11, 1860.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, T. O. MOORE,

GOVERNOR OF LA.

Sir: I have the honor to place herewith in the hands of your Excellency my credentials as Commissioner from the

State of Mississippi to the State of Louisiana, and accompanying the same a copy of the Resolutions passed by the Legislature of my State, under the sanction of which His Excellency the Governor of Mississippi has made this and other appointments.

In discharge of the trust thus confided to me, it will afford me the highest pleasure to communicate with your Excellency in writing, or by a personal interview, at such time as may be most consistant with your convenience and pleasure.

I have the honor, sir, to subscribe myself,

Your most obedient servant,

WIRT ADAMS, Commissioner.

ADDRESS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana:—In behalf of the State of Mississippi, I tender to your Executive, to your Honorable bodies, and to the people of Louisiana, my profound acknowledgments for the distinguished courtesy and kindness which have been extended to her representative.

I have been commissioned by the Governor of my State to communicate formally and officially to the authorities and people of Louisiana, "that the Legislature of Mississippi has passed an act calling a Convention of the State to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the Confederacy, aggravated by the recent election of a President upon principles of hostility to the States of the South; and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi that Louisiana will co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for their common defense and safety."

In addition to the act calling a Convention, which passed both branches of the Legislature of Mississippi by a unanimous vote, a series of resolutions were adopted by a vote approaching the like unanimity, which after reciting the grievances of the Southern States, declared secession to be the only remedy.

The discharge of this important trust, sir, has been rendered no less simple than grateful. The recommendations of your enlightened and patriotic Executive, contained in

his message, followed, as they have been, by the prompt and wise action of this Legislature, in calling a Convention of the people of Louisiana, and making a munificent appropriation for arming the State; the manifestations of an almost unanimous public sentiment, which I witness around me, render any words of argument or exhortation from me, more than superfluous. As well, sir, might I attempt to swell the volume of the majestic stream which pours its resistless tide past your beautiful capitol, by adding one drop to its waters, as essay to deepen the convictions or confirm the unalterable resolves of your noble and gallant State. She has well exemplified the maxim that the time for argument in this contest with the North has gone forever, and the time for action has come. It is but doing her justice to say, that everywhere in this broad land, has she been distinguished for the moderation, conservatism and patriotism of her people. And could she give more signal proof of this well-deserved character, than in her present determination to preserve the rights, the honor, and the interests of her citizens intact, in the gravest and most perilous juncture that was ever presented to a free people?

I rejoice, Mr. President, at these unmistakable indications of her purpose, and shall bear back the intelligence of your action to the Governor and people of my State with no ordinary gratification. And amongst the popular manifestations which I have witnessed, I shall not forget that your imperial city of New Orleans, which reposes by the river side and the sea, has recently emblazoned aloft her sentiments, and elevated above the Crescent of her commercial grandeur the radiant Cross of the true Southern faith.

It is peculiarly proper, sir, that the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, contiguous in territory, and bound together by the closest commercial and social ties, should stand and act together in this contest with a malignant and ruthless foe. Upon the plains of Chalmette and the field of Mexico, their gallant sons, in the past, have locked their shields; and now, in the midst of perils far greater, involving life, honor and property, I fervently hope they will be found in the future, in opinion and action, united in bonds fraternal and indissoluble.

At the close of this address, the Assembly, and the large crowds in the lobbies and galleries, greeted the Mississippi Commissioner and his sentiments with loud applause.

Lieutenant-Governor Hyams then invited the Commissioner from Mississippi to ascend the Speaker's stand, and with great earnestness addressed him in the following speech:

SIR :—I welcome you, as the Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, to the Halls of the Legislature of Louisiana, assembled in joint session for the occasion—to take counsel together this day, when a ruthless majority of the people of the Northern States, regardless of the rights of the Southern States, are about to inaugurate a policy which utterly subverts their equality in the Union, and will at no distant day culminate in reducing them to a condition far worse than colonial vassalage. After a long train of injuries, abuses and usurpations, our sturdy ancestry broke the yoke of British domination, and established with their blood the independence of the States, and subsequently adopted the Constitution of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, “promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity.” How have a majority of the people of the Northern States kept the *bonds*? We have under the forms of the Constitution elevated to the Presidency of the United States, (united only for the great purposes expressed in the Constitution,) a citizen of the North, as the representative of principles so destructive to the rights, liberties, property and lives of the people of fifteen of the sovereign States of the confederacy, that if promulgated in person to their slave population, in the spirit of the party to which he owes his elevation, would subject him to condign punishment—and in Louisiana, by her statutes, to imprisonment for life, or death, at the discretion of her courts.

Can any citizen of the South, or any true American contemplate the humiliating spectacle and not hide his head with shame, if he does not resist and throw off such disgraceful yoke at all hazards, and at every cost?

Sir, this revolution is determined upon by all true Southern men, and the best means of its accomplishment is the UNION OF THE SOUTH for the sake of the South, and to further that great end, we understand to be the object of your mission. Louisiana, therefore, welcomes the Commissioner from Mississippi to her councils, to prepare for and maintain Southern independence, and like our fathers of old, we will pledge in the cause, “our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honors.”

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